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THE LIFE and DEATH Of The Renown'd Mr. JOHN ELIOT,

Who was the

First Preacher OF THE GOSPEL TO THE INDIANS in *America.*

With an Account of the Wonderful Succeſs which the Goſpel has had amongſt the Heathen in that part of the World: And of the many ſtrange Cuſtomes of the Pagan *Indians*, In NEW-ENGLAND.

Written by *Cotton Mather.*

Religion ſtands on Tiptoe in our Land,
Ready to paſs to the American *ſtrand.*—Herbert.

The Second Edition carefully corrected.

LONDON:
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MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

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To the Right Honourable PHILIP Lord WHARTON, a no leſs Noble than Aged Patron of Learning and Virtue; and a Favourite of that Great King, *Whoſe Throne is in the Heavens, and whoſe Kingdom Ruleth over all.*

May it pleaſe Your Lordſhip,

IF *it be conſidered, that ſome* Evangelical *and* Apoſtolical *Hiſtories of the New Teſtament, were by the Direction of the Holy Spirit Himſelf,* Dedicated *unto a Perſon of Quality, and that the Noble Perſon Addreſſed with One ſuch Dedication, entertain'd it with Reſentments that encouraged his dear* Lucilias *to make a* Second; *the world will be ſatisfi'd that I do a thing but Reaſonable and Agreeable, when, unto a Narrative of many* Evangelical *and* Apoſtolical *Affairs, I preſume to prefix the Name of one ſo* Excellent *for love to God, as Your* Lordſhip *is known to be; and One upon* this *account only, an Unmeet ſubject for the praiſes of the obſcure pen which now writes that* Quis Vituperat? *I do not, I dare not, ſo far intrude upon Your Honour, as to ask Your* Patronage *unto all the* New-Engliſh *Principles and Practices which are found in the Character of our Celebrated* ELIOT; *for, as the Diſtance of a Thouſand Leagues, has made it impoſſible for me to attend the* (uſual) *Orders and Manners of asking firſt your Allowance for*

what I have openly Entitled you unto; ſo, the Renowned ELIOT *is gone beyond any occaſions for the greateſt Humane* Patronage.

But that which has procured unto your Lordſhip, the Trouble of this Dedication, *is, My Deſire to give you the Picture of One* Aged *Saint, Lately gone to that* General Aſſembly, *which the Eternal King of Heven by the Advances of your own* Age in the way of Righteouſneſs, *does quickly Summon Your Self unto. The Profound Reſpect which our* ELIOT *had for your Honour, will doubtleſs be anſwered and requited with your own Value, for the Memory of ſuch a memorable* Chriſtian, Miniſter, *and* Evangeliſt; *inaſmuch as*, Your *Affections, like* his, *take not their Meaſures from theſe or thoſe matters of* Doubtful Diſputation, *but from ſuch an univerſal* Piety, *and* Charity, *and* Holineſs, *as* he *was an* Inſtance *of.*

No man ever complained of it, that in the works of Chryſoſtom, *we find* ſeven *Orations not far aſunder, in Commendation of* Paul; *nor is it any fault that I have now written* One *in Commendation of a man whom a* Pauline *Spirit had made illuſtrious. In deſcribing him, I have made but little Touches upon his Parentage, and Family, becauſe as the truly Great* Baſil *excuſes his Omiſſion of thoſe things, in his Oration upon* Gordius *the* Martyr, Eccleſia hæc tanquam ſupervacua dimittit. *But I have related thoſe things of him, which cannot but create a good Eſteem for him, in the breaſt of your Lordſhip, who are a Faithful and Ancient* Witneſs *againſt thoſe Diſtempers of the world, whereby (as the bleſſed* Sal-

vian

vian *lamented it*) Cogimur eſſe Viles, ut Nobiles habeamur; *and raiſe the ſweetneſs of your Thoughts upon your Approaches, which may our God make both* ſlow *and* ſure, *unto that State, wherein,* The Leaſt is Greater than this JOHN. *But if I may more ingenuouſly Confeſs the whole* Ground *and* Cauſe *of this* Dedication, *I muſt own,* 'Tis to pay a part of a Debt; *a* Debt *under which you have laid my Country, when you did with your own Honourable Hand, Preſent unto His Majeſty the ſame Account which I have* here *again Publiſhed,* Concerning the Succeſs of the Goſpel among the Indians in *New-England.*

My Lord, in one ELIOT, *You ſee what a* People *'tis that you have counted worthy of your Notice; and what a* People *'tis, that with ardent Prayers beſpeak the Mercies of Heaven for your Noble Family. Indeed, It is impoſſible that a Country ſo full as* New-England *is, of what is truly* Primitive, *ſhould not be expoſed unto the bittereſt Enmity and Calumny of thoſe, that will ſtrive to entangle the Church in a* Sardian *Unreformedneſs, until our Jeſus do ſhortly* make them know, that He has loved *what they have hated, maligned, perſecuted. But if the God of* New-England *have inclined any* Great Perſonage *to Intercede or Interpoſe for the prevention of the* Ruines *which ill men have deſigned for ſuch a Country, or to procure for a People of an* Eliot's *Complexion in Religion, the Undiſturbed Enjoyment and Exerciſe of* that *Religion: It is a thing that calls for our moſt ſenſible Acknowledgments.*

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It is an odd Superſtition *which the* Indians *of this Country have among them, that they count it (on the penalty of otherwiſe* never proſpering *more) neceſſary for them, never to paſs by the* Graves *of certain famous perſons among them, without laying and leaving ſome Token of Regard thereupon. But we hope that all true* Proteſtants *will count it no more than what is* equal *and* proper, *that the Land which has in it the* Grave *of ſuch a Remarkable Preacher to the* Indians *as our* ELIOT, *ſhould be treated with ſuch a* Love, *as a* Jeruſalem *uſes to find from them that are to* proſper.

Upon that ſcore then, let My Lord accept a Preſent *from, and for, a Remote corner in the* New-World, *where God is praiſed on your behalf; a ſmall* Preſent *made by the Hand of a Rude* American, *who has nothing to recommend him unto your Lordſhip, except this, that he is the Son of One whom you have admitted unto your Favours; and, That he is Ambitious to wear the Title of,*

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's

Moſt Humble and moſt

Obedient Servant,

COTTON MATHER.

The Introduction.

'TWas a very ſurprizing as well as an undoubted Accident which happened within the memory of Millions yet alive, when certain Shepherds upon Mount *Nebo*, following part of their ſtragling Flock, at length came to a *Valley*, the prodigious Depths and Rocks whereof rendred it almoſt inacceſſible; in which there was a *Cave* of inexpreſſible ſweetneſs, and in that Cave was a Sepulchre that had very difficult Characters upon it. The Patriarchs of the *Maronites* thereabouts inhabiting, procured ſome learned Perſons to take Notice, and make Report of this Curioſity, who found the Inſcription of the Grave-Stone to be in the Hebrew Language and Letter, *Moſes, the Servant of the Lord.* The *Jews*, the *Greeks*, and the *Roman Catholicks*, thereabouts, were all together by the ears for the poſſeſſion of this rarity; but the *Turks* as quickly laid Claim unto it, and ſtrongly guarded it. Nevertheleſs, the *Jeſuits* found a way by Tricks and Bribes to engage the *Turkiſh* Guards into a Conſpiracy with them, for the Tranſporting of the incloſed and renowned Aſhes into *Europe*; but when they opened the grave, there was no Body, nor ſo much as a Relick there. While they were under the confuſion of this Diſappointment, a *Turkiſh* General came upon them, and cut them

all to pieces; therewithal taking a course never to have that place visited any more. But the Scholars of the *Orient* presently made this a Theme which they talkt and wrote much upon; and, *whether this was the true Sepulchre of* Moses, was a question upon which many Books were published. The World would now count me very absurd, if after this I should say, that I had found the Sepulchre of *Moses* in *America*; but I have certainly here found *Moses* himself; we have had among us one appearimg in the *Spirit and Power of a* Moses; and it is not the Grave, but the Life of such a *Moses*, that we value our selves upon being the owners of.

Having implored the Assistance and Acceptance of that God, whose Blessed Word has told us, *The Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance*; I am attempting to write the life of a Righteous Person, concerning whom all things, but the meanness of the Writer, invite the Reader to expect nothing save what is truly Extraordinary. 'Tis the Life of one who has better and greater things to be affirmed of him, than could ever be reported concerning any of those famous men, which have been celebrated by the Pens of a *Plutarch*, a *Pliny*, a *Laertius*, an *Eunapius*, or in any Pagan Histories. 'Tis the Life of one whose Character might very agreeably be look'd for among the Collections of a *Doratheus*, or the Orations of a *Nazianzene*, or is worthy at least of nothing less than the exquisite Style of a *Melchior Adam* to Eternize it. If it be, as it is, a true Assertion,

Aſſertion, *That the leaſt Exerciſe of true Faith or Love towards God in Chriſt, is a more glorious thing than all the Triumphs of a* Cæſar; there muſt be ſomething very conſiderable in the Life of one, who ſpent ſeveral ſcores of years in ſuch Exerciſes; and of one, in the mention of whoſe Atchievements we may alſo recount, that he fought the Devil in (once) his *American* Territories, till he had recovered no ſmall party of his old Subjects and Vaſſals out of his cruel Hands; it would be as unreaſonable as unprofitable, for poſterity to bury the Memory of ſuch a Perſon in the Duſt of that Obſcurity and Oblivion, which has covered the Names of the *Heroes* who dyed before the Days of *Agamemnon*.

PRELIMINARY I.

THE BIRTH, AGE, and FAMILY of Mr. ELIOT.

'Tis the Life of the Renowned John Eliot, *which is to be now put into our Pages; a Life which commenced about the Year* 1604. *And Expired in the Year* 1690.

THE inſpired *Moſes* relating the Lives of the Ante-diluvian Patriarchs, in whom the Church of God and Line of Chriſt was continued, through the firſt Sixteen hundred Years of time, recites little but their Birth, and their Age, and their Death, and their Sons and Daughters. If thoſe Articles would ſatisfie the appetites and enquiries of ſuch as come to Read the Life of our *Eliot*, we ſhall ſoon have diſpatch'd the work now upon our Hands. The Age, with the Death of this worthy man, has been already terminated in the Ninetieth year of the preſent Century, and the Eighty ſixth Year of his own Pilgrimage. And for his Birth, it was at a Town in *England*, the Name whereof I cannot preſently recover; nor

nor is it neceſſary for me to look back ſo far as the place of his Nativity, any more than 'tis for me to recite the Vertues of his Parentage, of which he ſaid, *Vix ea noſtra voco.* The *Atlantick Ocean*, like a River of *Lethe*, may eaſily cauſe us to forget many of the things that happened on the other ſide. Indeed the Nativity of ſuch a Man were an Honour worthy the Contention of as many *places* as laid their Claims unto the famous *Homer's*; but whatever *places* may challenge a ſhare in the Reputation of having Enjoy'd the *firſt Breath* of our *Eliot*, it is *New-England* that with moſt right can call him *hers*; his *beſt Breath*, and afterwards his *laſt Breath*, was here; and here 'twas that God beſtow'd upon him *Sons and Daughters.*

He came to *New-England* in the Month of *November*, *A. D.* 1631. among thoſe Bleſſed old Planters, which laid the Foundations of a remarkable Country, devoted unto the Exerciſe of the Proteſtant Religion, in its pureſt and higheſt Reformation: He left behind him in *England*, a vertuous young Gentlewoman, whom he had purſued and purpoſed a *Marriage* unto; and ſhe coming hither the year following, that Marriage was Conſummated in the Month of *October*, *A. D.* 1632.

This *Wife of his youth* lived with him until ſhe became to him alſo the *ſtaff of his Age*; and ſhe left him not until about three or four years before his own Departure to thoſe Heavenly Regions, where they now together *ſee Light.*

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She was a Woman very Eminent, both for *Holineſs* and *Uſefulneſs*, and ſhe excelled moſt of the *Daughters that have done vertuouſly*. Her Name was *Ann*, and *Gracious* was her Nature. God made her a Rich Bleſſing, not only to her *Family*, but alſo to her *Neighbourhood*; and when at laſt ſhe died, I heard and ſaw her aged Huſband, who elſe very rarely wept, yet now with Tears over the Coffin, before the good People, a vaſt confluence of which were come to her Funeral, ſay, *Here lies my dear, faithful, pious, prudent, prayerful Wife; I ſhall go to her, and ſhe not return to me!* My Reader will of his own accord excuſe *me*, from beſtowing any further *Epitaphs* upon that *gracious* Woman.

By *her*, did God give him ſix worthy Children; Children of a Character which may for ever ſtop the mouths of thoſe *Antichriſtian* Blaſphemers, who have ſet a falſe brand of Diſaſter and Infamy on the Off-ſpring of a *Married Clergy*. His Firſt-born was a Daughter, born *Sept.* 17. *A. C.* 1633. This Gentlewoman is yet alive, and one well-approved for her Piety and Gravity. His next was a Son, born *Aug.* 31. *A. C.* 1636. He bore his Father's *Name*, and had his Father's *Grace*. He was a Perſon of notable Accompliſhments, and a lively, zealous, acute Preacher, not only to the *Engliſh*, at *New-Cambridge*, but alſo to the *Indians* thereabout. He grew ſo faſt, that he was found ripe for Heaven many years ago; and upon his Death-bed uttered ſuch penetrating things as could proceed

ceed from none but one upon the Borders and Confines of Eternal Glory. 'Tis pity that ſo many of them are forgotten; but one of them, I think, we have cauſe to remember; *Well*, (ſaid he) *my dear Friends, there is a dark Day coming upon poor* New-England; *and in ſo dark a Day, I pray how will you provide for your own Security? My Counſel to you is, get an Intereſt in the Bleſſed Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and that will carry you to the Worlds end.* His Third was alſo a Son, born *Decemb.* 20. *A. C.* 1638. him he call'd *Joſeph*, and made a *Joſeph* of him: This Perſon is at this time a Paſtor to the Church at *Guilford*, and one of great note, as well thro' the whole Country, as in the particular Colony of *Connecticut*, which God has made him conſiderable to. His Fourth was a *Samuel*, born *June* 22. *A. C.* 1641. who died, a moſt lovely young Man, eminent for Learning and Goodneſs, a Fellow of the Colledge, and a Candidate of the Miniſtry. His Fifth was an *Aaron*, born *Feb.* 15. *A. C.* 1643. who tho' he di'd very young, yet firſt manifeſted *many good things towards the Lord God of Iſrael.* His laſt was a *Benjamin*, born *Jan.* 29. *A. C.* 1646. Of all theſe Three it may be ſaid, as it was of *Haran*, *They di'd before their Father*; but it may alſo be written over their Graves; *All theſe dy'd in Faith.* By the pious Deſign of their Father, they were all Conſecrated unto the Service of God, in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel; but God ſaw meet rather to fetch them away, by a *Death*, which (therefore) I dare not call

call *Pramature*, to glorifie him in another and a better World. They all gave ſuch Demonſtrations of their Converſion to God, that the good old Man would ſometimes comfortably ſay, *I have had ſix Children, and I bleſs God for his free-grace, they are all either with Chriſt, or in Chriſt; and my mind is now at reſt concerning them.* And when ſome asked him, How he could bear the Death of ſuch excellent Children? his humble Reply thereto was this, *My deſire was, that they ſhould have ſerved God on Earth; but if God will chuſe to have them rather ſerve him in Heaven, I have nothing to object againſt it, but his Will be done.* His *Benjamin* was made the *Son of his Right-hand*, for the invitation of the good People at *Ruxbury* placed him in the ſame Pulpit with his Father, where he was his Aſſiſtant for many years; there they had *a Proof of him, that as a Son with his Father, he ſerved with him in the Goſpel.* But his Fate was like that which the great *Gregory Nazianzen* deſcribes in his Diſcourſe upon the Death of his honourable Brother, his aged Father being now alive and preſent; *My Father, having laid up in a better World, a rich Inheritance for his Children, ſent a Son of his before, to take poſſeſſion of it.*

PRÆ-

PRÆLIMINARY II.

Mr. Eliot's *early Converſion, ſacred Employment, and juſt Removal into* America.

BUT all that I have hitherto ſaid, is no more than an entrance into the Hiſtory of our *Eliot*. Such an *Enoch* as he, muſt have ſomething more than theſe things recorded of him; his *Walk with God* muſt be more largely laid before the World, as a thing that would beſpeak us all to be *followers*, no leſs than we ſhall be *Admirers*, of it.

He had not paſſed many *turns* in the World, before he knew the meaning of a ſaving *turn* from the Vanities of an Unregenerate ſtate, unto God in Chriſt, by a true Repentance; he had the ſingular happineſs and priviledge of an *early Converſion* from the ways which *Original ſin* diſpoſes all Men unto. One of the principal Inſtruments which the God of Heaven uſed in tinging, and filling the mind of this *choſen Veſſel* with good Principles, was that Venerable *Thomas Hooker*, whoſe name in the Churches of the Lord Jeſus, is, *As an Oyntment poured forth*; even that *Hooker*, of whom worthy Maſter *Fuller* could write: As *Latimer* would not ſtick to ſay, St. *Bilney*, ſo neither I to ſay, St. *Hooker*; that *Hooker*, who having *Angled* many ſcores of Souls into the Kingdom of Heaven, at laſt laid his

his Bones in our *New-England*; it was an acquaintance with him, that contributed more than a little to the Accompliſhment of our *Eliſha*, for that work unto which the moſt High deſigned him. His liberal *Education* having now the Addition of *Religion* to direct it, and improve it, it gave ſuch a *Biaſs* to his young Soul, as quickly diſcovered it ſelf in very ſignal inſtances. His firſt appearance in the World after his Education in the *Univerſity* at *Cambridge*, was in the too *difficult*, and *unthankful*, but very *neceſſary* Employment of a *School-maſter*, which Employment he diſcharged with a good Fidelity. And as this *firſt Eſſay* of his Improvement was no more Diſgrace unto him, than it was unto the famous *Hierom*, *Whitaker*, *Vines*, and others, that they thus began to be ſerviceable; ſo it rather prepared him for the further ſervice which his mind was now ſet upon. He was of worthy Mr. *Thomas Wilſon*'s mind, that the calling of a Miniſter was the only one, wherein a Man might be more ſerviceable to the Church of God, than in that of a *School-maſter*: Wherefore having Dedicated himſelf unto God betimes, he could not Reconcile himſelf to any leſſer way of Serving his Creator and Redeemer, than by the Sacred Miniſtry of the Goſpel; but, alas, where ſhould he have Opportunities for the Exerciſing of it? It was now a time when ſome hundreds of thoſe amiable People which had the Nick-name of *Puritans* put upon them, tranſported themſelves, with their whole Families and Intereſts, into

the

the Deſarts of *America*, that they might here peaceably erect *Congregational Churches*, and therein attend and maintain all the pure Inſtitutions of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; having the encouragement of *Royal Charters*, that they ſhould *never* have any interruption in the Enjoyment of thoſe *precious and pleaſant things*. Here was a proſpect which quickly determined the devout Soul of our young *Eliot*, unto a remove into *New-England*, while it was yet a *Land not ſown*; he quickly Liſted himſelf among thoſe valiant Soldiers of the Lord Jeſus, who cheerfully encountred firſt the Perils of the *Atlantick Ocean*, and then the Fatigues of the *New-Engliſh Wilderneſs*, that they might have an undiſturbed Communion with him in his Appointments here. And thus did he betimes procure himſelf the conſolation of having afterwards, and for ever, a room in that remembrance of God, *I remember thee, the Kindneſs of thy youth, and the Love of thine eſpouſals, when thou wenteſt after me into the Wilderneſs.*

On his firſt arrival to *New-England*, he ſoon joyned himſelf unto the Church at *Boſton*, 'twas *Church-work* that was his Errand hither. Mr. *Wilſon*, the Paſtor of that Church, was gone back into *England*, that he might perfect the Settlement of his Affairs; and in his abſence, young Mr. *Eliot* was he that ſupplied his place. Upon the return of Mr. *Wilſon*, that Church was intending to have made Mr. *Eliot* his Collegue, and their Teacher; but it was thus diverted,

Mr. *Eliot* had engaged unto a ſelect Number of his Pious and Chriſtian Friends in *England*, that if they ſhould come into theſe Parts before he ſhould be in the Paſtoral Care of any other People, he would give himſelf to *Them*, and be for *Their* Service. It happened, that theſe Friends tranſported themſelves hither the Year after him, and choſe their Habitation at the Town which they called *Roxbury*. A Church being now gathered at this place, he was in a little while *Ordained* unto the Teaching and Ruling of that holy Society. So 'twas in the Orb of that Church that we had him as a *Star fixed* for very near Threeſcore Years; it only remains that we now obſerve what was his *Magnitude* all this while, and how he performed his *Revolution*.

PART I.

Or, Eliot *as a Chriſtian.*

ARTICLE I.

His eminent Piety.

SUch was the Piety of our *Eliot*, that like another *Moſes*, he had upon his Face a continual *ſhine*, ariſing from his uninterrupted communion with the Father of Spirits. He was indeed

deed a *Man of Prayer*, and might ſay after the Pſalmiſt, *I Prayer*, as being in a manner made up of it. Could the Walls of his old Study ſpeak, they would even raviſh us with a Relation of the many hundred and thouſand fervent Prayers which he there poured out before the Lord. He not only made it his daily practice to *enter into that Cloſet, and ſhut his Door, and pray to his Father in ſecret*, but he would not rarely ſet apart whole Days for Prayer with Faſting in ſecret places, before the God of Heaven. Prayer ſolemnized with Faſting was indeed ſo agreeable unto him, that I have ſometimes thought he might juſtly inherit the Name of *Johannes Jejunator*, or *John the Faſter*, which for the like reaſon was put upon one of the Renowned Ancients. Eſpecially, when there was any remarkable difficulty before him, he took this way to encounter and overcome it; being of Dr. *Preſton's* mind, *That when we would have any great things to be accompliſhed, the beſt policy is to work by an Engine which the World ſees nothing of.* He could ſay as the Pious *Robertſon* did upon his Death-bed, *I think God I have loved Faſting and Prayer with all my heart!* If one would have known what that ſacred thing, *the ſpirit of Prayer*, intends, in him there might have been ſeen a moſt luculent and practical Expoſition of it. He kept his heart in a frame for Prayer, with a marvellous conſtancy, and was continually provoking all that were about him thereunto. When he heard any conſiderable News, his uſual and ſpeedy Re-

ſection thereupon would be, *Brethren, let us turn all this into Prayer*; and he was perpetually jogging the Wheel of Prayer, both more privately in the Meetings, and more publickly in the Churches of his Neighbourhood. When he came to an Houſe that he was intimately acquainted with, he would often ſay, *Come, let us not have a Viſit without a Prayer; let us pray down the Bleſſing of Heaven on your Family before we go.* Eſpecially when he came into a Society of Miniſters, before he had ſate long with them, they would look to hear him urging, *Brethren, the Lord Jeſus takes much notice of what is done and ſaid among his Miniſters when they are together; come, let us pray before we part.* And hence alſo his whole Breath ſeemed in a ſort made up of Ejaculatory Prayers; many ſcores of which winged Meſſengers he diſpatched away to Heaven upon pious Errands every day. By them he beſpoke Bleſſings upon almoſt every Perſon or Affair that he was concerned with; and he carried every thing to God with ſome pertinent *Hoſannah*'s or *Hallelujah*'s over it. He was a mighty and an happy Man, that had his Quiver full of theſe heavenly Arrows: And when he was never ſo ſtraitly beſieged by human Occurrences, yet he faſtned the wiſhes of his devout Soul unto them, and very dexterouſly ſhot them up to Heaven over the head of all.

As he took thus delight in ſpeaking to the Almighty God, no leſs did he in ſpeaking of him; but in ſerious and ſavoury diſcourſes he

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ſtill had his Tongue *like the Pen of a ready Writer.* The *Jeſuits* once at *Nola* made a no leſs prophane than ſevere Order, *That no man ſhould ſpeak of God at all*; but this excellent Perſon almoſt made it an Order wherever he came, *to ſpeak of nothing but God.* He was indeed ſufficiently pleaſant and witty in Company, and he was affable and facetious, rather than moroſe in Converſation; but he had a remarkable Gravity mixed with it, and a ſingular ſkill of raiſing ſome holy Obſervation out of whatever matter of diſcourſe lay before him; nor would he ordinarily diſmiſs any *Theme* without ſome gracious, divine, pithy Sentence thereupon. Doubtleſs he impoſed it as a Law upon himſelf, that he would leave ſomething of *God*, and *Heaven*, and *Religion*, with all that ſhould come near him; ſo that in all places his company was attended with Majeſty and Reverence; and it was no ſooner proper for him to ſpeak, but, like *Mary*'s opened Box of Oyntment, he fill'd the whole Room with the Perfumes of the Graces in his Lips, and the Chriſtian hearers taſted a greater ſweetneſs in his well-ſeaſoned Speeches, than the Illuſtrious *Homer* aſcrib'd unto the Orations of his *Neſtor*, *Whoſe Lip drop'd Language, than ſweet Hony ſweeter abundance.*

His Conferences were like thoſe which *Tertullian* affirms to have been common among the Saints in his Days, *Ut qui ſciret Dominum audire*, as knowing that the Ear of God was open to them all; and he managed his Rudder, ſo as to

manifeſt that he was bound Heaven-ward, in his whole Communication. He had a particular art at Spiritualizing of Earthly Objects, and raiſing off high Thoughts from very mean things. As once, going with ſome feebleneſs and wearineſs up the Hill on which his Meeting-houſe now ſtands, he ſaid unto the Perſon that led him, *This is very like the way to Heaven, 'tis up Hill! the Lord by his Grace fetch us up!* and inſtantly ſpying a Buſh near him, he as nimbly added, *And truly there are Thorns and Briars in the way too!* Which inſtance I would not have ſingled out from the many thouſands of his Occaſional Reflections, but only that I might ſuggeſt unto the good People of *Roxbury*, ſomething for them to think upon, when they are going up to the Houſe of the Lord. It is enough, that as the Friend of the famous *Urſin* could profeſs that he never went unto him without coming away, *aut doctior aut melior*, either the wiſer or the better from him; ſo, 'tis an acknowledgment which more than one Friend of our *Eliot*'s has made concerning him, *I was never with him, but I got, or might have got ſome good from him.*

And hearing from the great God, was an Exerciſe of like ſatisfaction unto the Soul of this good Man, with ſpeaking either to him, or of him. He was a mighty Student of the Sacred Bible; and it was unto him as his neceſſary Food. He made the Bible his Companion, and his Councellor, and the holy Lines of Scripture more Enamoured him, than the profane ones of *Tully* ever

ever did the famous *Italian* Cardinal. He would not, upon eaſie terms, have gone one day together without uſing a portion of the Bible as an *Antidote* againſt the *Infection* of Temptation. And he would preſcribe it unto others, with his *probatum eſt* upon it; as once particularly a pious Woman, vexed with a wicked husband, complaining to him, That bad Company was all the Day ſtill infeſting of her houſe, and what ſhould ſhe do? He adviſed her, *Take the Holy Bible into your Hand, when the bad Company comes, and you'll ſoon drive them out of the Houſe*; the Woman made the experiment, and thereby cleared her houſe from the haunts that had moleſted it. By the like way 'twas that he cleared his heart of what he was loth to have neſting there. Moreover, if ever any Man could, he might pretend unto that evidence of Uprightneſs, *Lord, I have loved the habitation of thine Houſe*; for he not only gave ſomething more than his preſence there twice on the Lord's Days, and once a Fortnight beſides on the Lectures, in his own Congregation; but he made his weekly viſits unto the Lectures in the Neighbouring Towns; how often was he ſeen at *Boſton*, *Charlſtown*, *Cambridge*, *Dorcheſter*, waiting upon the Word of God, in the recurring Opportunities, and counting a *Day in the Courts of the Lord better than a thouſand!* It is hardly conceivable, how in the midſt of ſo many Studies and Labours as he was at home engaged in, he could poſſibly repair to ſo many

Lectures abroad; and herein he aimed not only at his own Edification, but at the Countenancing and Encouraging of the Lectures which he went unto. Thus he took heed that he might hear, and he took as much heed how he heard; he ſet himſelf as in the preſence of the Eternal God, as the great *Conſtantine* uſed of old, in the Aſſemblies where he came, and ſaid, *I will hear what God the Lord will ſpeak*; he expreſſed a diligent attention, by a watchful and w keful poſture, and by turning to the Texts quoted by the Preacher; he expreſſed a ſuitable affection by feeding on what was delivered, and accompanying it with hands and eyes devoutly elevated; and they whoſe good hap 'twas to go home with him, were ſure of having another Sermon by the way, until their very *Hearts burned in them*. *Lactantius* truly ſaid, *Non eſt vera Religio, quæ cum Templo relinquitur*; but our *Eliot* always carried much of Religion with him from the Houſe of God.

In a word, he was one who liv'd in *Heaven* while he was on *Earth*; and there is no more than pure juſtice in our endeavours that he ſhould live on *Earth* after he is in *Heaven*. We cannot ſay that we ever ſaw him walking any whither, but he was therein walking with God; whereever he ſate, he had God by him, and it was in the everlaſting Arms of God that he ſlept at Night. Methoughts he a little diſcovered his heavenly way of living, when walking one Day in his Garden, he plucked up a Weed that he

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ſaw now and then growing there, at which a Friend pleaſantly ſaid unto him, *Sir, you tell us we muſt be Heavenly minded*; but he immediately Repli'd, *It is true; and this is no impediment unto that; for were I ſure to go to Heaven to morrow, I would do what I do to day.* From ſuch a frame of ſpirit it was that once in a viſit, finding a Merchant in his Counting-houſe, where he ſaw Books of Buſineſs only on his Table, but all his Books of Devotion on the Shelf, he gave this Advice unto him, *Sir, Here's Earth on the Table, and Heaven on the Shelf; pray don't ſit ſo much at the Table as altogether to forget the Shelf; let not Earth by any means thruſt Heaven out of your mind.*

Indeed I cannot give a fuller Deſcription of him, than what was in a Paraphraſe that I have heard himſelf to make upon that Scripture, *our Converſation is in Heaven.* I writ from him as he uttered it.

'Behold, *ſaid he*, the Ancient and Excellent 'Character of a true Chriſtian; 'tis that which 'Peter calls *Holineſs in all manner of Converſation*; 'you ſhall not find a Chriſtian out of the way of 'Godly Converſation. For, firſt, a ſeventh part 'of our time is all ſpent in *Heaven*, when we are 'duly zealous for, and zealous on the Sabbath of 'God. Beſides, God has written on the head of 'the Sabbath, *Remember*; which looks both for-'wards and backwards; and thus a good part 'of the week will be ſpent in *Sabbatizing*. Well, 'but for the reſt of our *Time!* why, we ſhall 'have that ſpent in *Heaven*, ere we have done.

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'For, Secondly, we have many Days for both '*Faſting* and *Thanksgiving* in our Pilgrimage; 'and here are ſo many *Sabbaths* more. More-'over, Thirdly, we have our *Lectures* every 'Week; and pious People wont miſs them, if 'they can help it. Furthermore, Fourthly, We 'have our *private Meetings* wherein we Pray, and 'Sing, and repeat Sermons, and confer toge-'ther about the things of God; and being now 'come thus far, we are in *Heaven* almoſt every 'Day. But a little farther, Fifthly, We perform '*Family-Duties* every Day; We have our Morn-'ing and Evening Sacrifices, wherein having 'read the Scriptures to our Families, we call up-'on the Name of God, and ever now and then 'carefully Catechiſe thoſe that are under our 'Charge. Sixthly, We ſhall alſo have our daily 'Devotions in our Cloſets; wherein, unto Sup-'plication before the Lord, we ſhall add ſome ſe-'rious Meditation upon his Word; a *David* will 'be at this work no leſs than thrice a Day. 'Seventhly, We have likewiſe many ſcores of 'Ejaculations in a Day; and theſe we have, like '*Nehemiah*, in whatever place we come into. 'Eighthly, We have our occaſional Thoughts, 'and our Occaſional Talks upon Spiritual mat-'ters; and we have our Occaſional acts of Cha-'rity, wherein we do like the Inhabitants of '*Heaven* every Day. Ninthly, In our Callings, 'in our civil Callings, we keep up heavenly 'Frames; we buy and ſell and toil, yea, we 'eat and drink, with ſome Eye both to the *Com-*

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'*mand* and the Honour of God in all. Behold, 'I have not now left an inch of time to be car-'nal; it is all engrossed for Heaven. And yet, 'lest here should not be enough, lastly, We 'have our spiritual Warfare. We are alwayes 'encountring the Enemies of our Souls, which 'continually raises our hearts unto our *Helper* 'and *Leader* in the *Heavens*. Let no man say, '*'Tis impossible to live at this rate*; for we have 'known some live thus, and others that have 'written of such a life, have but spun a Web out 'of their own blessed experiences. *New-Eng-'land* has examples of this life; tho, alas, 'tis 'to be lamented, that the Distractions of the 'world, in too many professors, do becloud the 'beauty of an Heavenly Conversation. In fine, 'our employment lies in *Heaven*. In the mor-'ning, if we ask, *Where am I to be to day*? Our 'Souls must answer, *In Heaven*. In the even-'ing if we ask, *Where have I been to day*? Our 'Souls may answer, *In* Heaven. If thou art a 'believer, thou art no stranger to Heaven while 'thou livest; and when thou dyest, Heaven will 'be no strange place to thee; no, thou hast been 'there a thousand times before.

In this language have I heard him express himself; and he did what he said; he was a *Bomface* as well as a *Benedict*; and he was one of those, *Qui faciendo docent, quæ facienda docent.*

It might be said of him, as that Writer characterises *Origen*, *Quemadmodum docuit, sic vixit & quemadmodum vixit sic docuit.*

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ARTICLE II.

His particular care and zeal about the Lords-Day.

THis was the Piety, this the Holineſs of our *Eliot*; but among the many Inſtances in which his *Holineſs* was remarkable, I muſt not omit his exact *Remembrance of the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy.*

It has been truly and juſtly Obſerved, That our whole Religion fares according to our Sabbaths; that poor Sabbaths make poor Chriſtians; and that a ſtrictneſs in our Sabbaths inſpires a vigour into all our other Duties. Our *Eliot* knew this, and it was a moſt Exemplary *Zeal* that he acknowledged the Sabbath of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt withal. Had he been asked, *Servaſti Dominicum?* he could have made a right Chriſtian primitive anſwer thereunto. The Sun did not ſet, the evening before the Sabbath, till he had begun his preparation for it; and when the Lords-day came, you might have ſeen *John in the Spirit*, every week. Every day was a ſort of Sabbath to him, but the Sabbath-day was a kind, a type, a taſt of Heaven with him. He laboured, that he might on this high day have no words or thoughts but ſuch as were agreeable thereunto; he then allow'd in himſelf no Actions; but thoſe of a *Raiſed Soul.* One ſhould hear nothing dropping from his Lips on this day,

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but the Milk and Honey of the Countrey, in which there yet remains a Reſt for the People of God; and if he beheld in any perſon whatſoever, whether old or young, any Profanation of this day, he would be ſure to beſtow lively Rebukes upon it. And hence alſo unto the general Engagements of a Covenant with God, which 'twas his deſire to bring the *Indians* into, he added a particular *Article*, wherein they bind themſelves, *Mehquontamunat Sabbath, pahketeaunat tohſohke pomantamog*, i. e. To remember the Sabbath-day, to keep it holy, as long we live.

The mention of this, gives me an opportunity, not only to Recommend our Departed *Eliot*, but alſo to Vindicate another great man, unto the Churches of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. The Reverend and Renowned *OWEN* in his Elaborate Exercitations on the *Lords day*, had let fall ſuch a paſſage as this.

I judge, That the Obſervation of the Lords day is to be Commenſurate unto the uſe of our natural ſtrength on any other day, from morning to night. The Lords day is to be ſet apart unto the ends of an holy Reſt unto God, by every one, according as his natural ſtrength will enable him to employ himſelf in his lawful occaſions any other day of the week.

This paſſage was ſubject to ſuch a miſunderſtanding, as that it gave ſome ſcandal unto ſeveral very Learned and Pious Men; among whom our *Eliot* was one: whereupon with his uſual Zeal, Gravity and Sanctity, he Wrote unto the Doctor His Opinion thereabout; who returned unto him

him an answer full of Respect, some part whereof I shall here transcribe.

'As to what concerns the *Natural strength of men* (*saith he*) Either I was under some mistake in my Expression, or you seem to be so, in your Apprehension. I never thought, and I hope I have not said, for I cannot find it, that the continuance of the Sabbath is to be commensurate unto the natural strength of man, but only that it is an allowable mean of mens continuance in Sabbath Duties; which I suppose you will not deny, lest you should cast the Consciences of professors into inextricable Difficulties.

'When first I engaged in that work, I intended not to have spoken one word about the practical observation of the Day; but only to have endeavoured the revival of a Truth which at present is despised and contemned among us, and strennously opposed by sundry Divines of the *United Provinces*, who call the Doctrine of the Sabbath, *Figmentum Anglicanum*. Upon the desire of some Learned Men in these parts, it was, that I undertook the Vindication of it. Having now discharged the Debt, which in this matter I owed unto the Truth and Church of God, tho not as I ought, yet with such a composition as I hope, thro' the Interposition of our Lord Jesus Christ, might find acceptance with God and his Saints, I suppose I shall not again engage on that Subject.

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'I ſuppoſe there is ſcarce any one alive in the 'world, who hath more *Reproaches* caſt upon 'him than I have; tho hitherto God has been 'pleaſed in ſome meaſure to ſuppore my ſpirit 'under them. I ſtill relieved my ſelf by this, 'That my poor Endeavours have found accep-'tance with the *Churches* of Chriſt: But my ho-'ly, wiſe, and Gracious Father, ſees it needful 'to try me in this matter alſo; and what I have 'received from you (which it may be contains 'not your ſenſe alone) hath printed deeper, and 'left a greater impreſſion upon my mind, than 'all the virulent Revilings, and falſe Accuſati-'ons I have met withal, from my profeſſed Ad-'verſaries. I do acknowledge unto you, that I 'have a dry and barren Spirit, and I do heartily 'beg your Prayers, that the Holy One would, 'notwithſtanding all my ſinful provocations, 'water me from above; but that I ſhould now 'be apprehended to have given a wound unto 'holineſs in the Churches, *'tis one of the ſaddeſt frowns in the cloudy Brows of Divine Providence.*

'The Doctrine of the Sabbath, I have aſſert-'ed, tho not as it ſhould be done, yet as well 'as I could; The Obſervation of it in Holy Du-'ties unto the utmoſt of the ſtrength for them, 'which God ſhould be pleaſed to give us, I have 'pleaded for; the neceſſity alſo of a ſerious pre-'paration for it in ſundry previous Duties, I have 'declared. But now to meet with ſevere Ex-'preſſions —it may be 'tis the will of God, that 'vigour ſhould hereby be given to my former

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'Diſcouragements, and that there is a Call in 'it, to ſurceaſe from theſe kinds of Labours.

I have tranſcribed the more of this Letter, becauſe it not only diſcovers the concern which our *Eliot* had for the Sabbath of God, but alſo it may contribute unto the Worlds good Reception and Peruſal of a *Golden Book* on that Subject, written by one of the moſt Eminent Perſons which the *Engliſh* Nation has been adorned with.

ARTICLE III.

His Exemplary Mortification.

THus did *Eliot* endeavour to live unto God; but how much at the ſame time did he die unto all the World?

'Twere impoſſible to finiſh the lively Picture of this pious and holy *Eliot*, without ſome touches upon that Mortification which accompani'd him all his days; for never did I ſee a Perſon more mortifi'd unto all the pleaſures of this Life, or more unwilling to moult the Wings of an Heaven-born Soul, in the dirty Puddles of carnal and ſenſual Delights. We are all of us compounded of thoſe two things, the Man, and the Beaſt; but ſo powerful was the Man, in this holy Perſon, that it kept the Beaſt ever ty'd with a ſhort Tedder, and ſuppreſſed the irregular Calcitrations of it. He became ſo nailed

nailed unto the Croſs of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; that the Grandeurs of this World were unto him juſt what they would be to a dying man; and he maintained an almoſt unparallel'd indifferency towards all the pomps which Mankind is too generally flattered and enchanted with.

The Luſt of the Fleſh he could not reconcile himſelf to the leaſt pampering or indulging of; but he perſecuted it with a continual Antipathy; being upon higher principles than *Tully* was acquainted withal, of his mind, *Non eſt dignus nomine nominis, qui unum diem totum velit eſſe in iſto genere voluptatis.* The Sleep that he allow'd himſelf, cheated him not of his Morning-hours; but he reckoned the Morning no leſs a friend unto the Graces, than unto the Muſes. He would call upon Students, *I pray look to it that you be morning-Birds!* And for many more than a ſcore of years before he dyed, he removed his Lodging into his Study, on purpoſe that being there alone, he might enjoy his early Mornings, without giving the diſturbance of the leaſt noiſe to any of his Friends, whoſe Affections to him elſe might have been ready to have called, *Maſter, ſpare thy ſelf.* The meat upon which he lived was a *Cibus ſimplex*, an homely, but an wholeſome Diet; Rich Varieties, coſtly Viands, and poinant Sawces, came not upon his own Table, and when he found them on other mens, he rarely taſted of them. One Diſh, and a plain one, was his Dinner; and when invited unto a Feaſt, I have ſeen him ſit Magnifying of God for the

Plenty which His People in this Wilderneſs were within a few Years ariſen to; but not more than a bit or two of all the Dainties taken into his own mouth all the while. And for a Supper, he had learned of his loved and bleſſed Patron, old Mr. *Cotton*, either wholly to omit it, or to make a ſmall ſup or two the utmoſt of it. The drink which he ſtill uſed was very ſmall; he cared not for Wines or Drams, and I believe he never once in all his life knew what it was to feel ſo much as a noxious fume in his head from any of them; good clear Water was more precious, as well as more uſual with him, than any of thoſe Liquors with which men do ſo frequently ſpoil their own Healths, while perhaps they drink thoſe of other men. When at a ſtrangers Houſe in the Summer time, he has been entertained with a Glaſs, which they told him was *of Water and Wine*, he has with a complaiſant gravity reply'd unto this purpoſe, *Wine, 'tis a noble generous Liquor, and we ſhould be humbly thankful for it; but as I remember, Water was made before it!* So abſtemious was he; and he found, that *Carere ſuavitatibus iſtis*, his Abſtinence had more ſweetneſs in it, than any of the ſweets which he abſtained from; and ſo willing he was to have others partake with him in that ſweetneſs, that when he has thought the countenance of a Miniſter has look'd, as if he had made much of himſelf, he has gone to him with that Speech, *Study Mortification, Brother! Study Mortification!* and he made all his Addreſſes with a becoming Majeſty.

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The *Luſt of the Eye*, was put out by him in ſuch a manner, that it was in a manner all one with him to be Rich or poor. It could not be ſaid of him, That *he ſought great things for himſelf*; but what eſtate he became owner of, was from the bleſſing of God upon the Husbandry and Induſtry of ſome in his Family, rather than from any endeavours of his own. Once when there ſtood ſeveral *Kine* of his own before his door, his Wife, to try him, asked him, *Whoſe they were?* and ſhe found that he knew nothing of them. He could not endure to plunge himſelf into ſecular Deſigns and Affairs, but accounted *Sacerdos in foro* as worthy of Caſtigation, as *Mercator in Templo*; he thought that Miniſter and Market-man were not *Uniſons*, and that the Earth was no place for *Aaron*'s holy Mitre to be laid upon. It was the Uſage of moſt Towns in the Country, to have an annual Rate for the maintainance of the Miniſtry, adjuſted commonly by the ſelect-men of the Towns; which tho it raiſed not any exuberant Salaries for the Miniſters, who alſo ſeldome received all that the people had contracted for; nevertheleſs in many places it prevented ſore Temptations from befalling thoſe that were labouring in the Word and Doctrine; who muſt elſe often have experienced the Truth of *Luther*'s Obſervation, *Duriter profecto & miſere viverent Evangelii Miniſtri, ſi ex Libera populi contributione eſſent ſuſtentandi.* However, for his part, he propounded that what ſtipend he had, ſhould be Raiſed by Contribution;

and from the ſame temper it was, that a few years before his Diſſolution, being left without an Aſſiſtant in his Miniſtry, he preſſed his Congregation to furniſh themſelves with another Paſtor; and in his Application to them he told them, *'Tis poſſible, you may think the burden of maintaining two Miniſters may be too heavy for you; but I'le deliver you from that fear; I do here give back my Salary to the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and now Brethren, you may fix that upon any man that God ſhall make a Paſtor for you.* But his Church with an handſome Reply, aſſured him, That they would count his very preſence worth a Salary, when he ſhould be ſo ſuperannuated as to do no further Service for them.

And as for the Pride of Life, the Life of it was moſt exemplarily extinguiſh'd in him. The Humility of his Heart made him *Higher by the Head than the reſt of the people.* His Habit and Spirit were both ſuch as declared him to be among the Lowly, whom God has moſt Reſpect unto. His Apparel was without any Ornament, except that of Humility, which the Apoſtle Elegantly compares to a knot of comely Ribbons, in the Text where he bids us to be Cloathed with it; any other flanting Ribbons on thoſe that came in his way, he would ingeniouſly animadvert upon; and ſeeing ſome Scholars once, he thought, a little too gaudy in their Cloaths, *Humiliamini, Juvenes, Humiliamini,* was his immediate complement unto them. Had you ſeen him with his *Leathern Girdle* (for ſuch a one he wore)

wore) *about his loins*, you would almoſt have thought what *Herod* fear'd; *That John Baptiſt was come to life again.* In ſhort, he was in all Regards, *A Nazarite indeed*; unleſs in this one, that long Hair was always very loathſome to him; he was an acute *Ramiſt*, but yet he profeſſed himſelf a lover of a *Trichocomy*. Doubtleſs, it may be lawful for us to accommodate the length of our Hair unto the modeſt Cuſtoms which vary in the *Churches of God*: and it may be lawful for them that have not enough of their own Hair for their own Health, to ſupply themſelves according to the ſober modes of the places where they live. But the Apoſtle tells us, *Nature teaches us, that if a man have long hair, 'tis a ſhame to him*; where, by *Nature* can be meant, no other than, *The difference of Sex*; as the word elſe-where is uſed.

Thus Mr. *Eliot* thought, that for Men to wear their Hair with a luxurious, Delicate, Fœminine prolixity; or for them to preſerve no plain Diſtinction of their Sex, by the Hair of their Head and face; and much more, for men thus to diſfigure themſelves with Hair that is none of their own; and moſt of all, for Miniſters of the Goſpel to ruffle it in Exceſſes of this kind, may prove more than we are well aware, diſpleaſing to the *Holy Spirit* of God. I know not whether that horrible Diſtemper prevailing in ſome *European* Countries, known by the name of *Plica Polonica*, wherein the Hair of people matted into ugly and filthy forms, like Snakes

upon their heads, which whoſoever cut off, preſently fell Blind or Mad; I ſay, I know not whether this Diſeaſe was more odious in it ſelf, than the ſweeter, neater, but prolix Locks of many people were to our *Eliot*. He was indeed one *priſcis moribus*, as well as *Antiqua fine*; and he might be allowed ſomewhat even of ſeverity in this matter on that account.

My Reader ſhall have a Touch or two, from a Manuſcript of his, which I have in my hands, againſt (as he calls it) *The violent and inſuperable Luſt of long Hair.* He thus argues.

'' Tis a ſin for a man to do that whereof he 'hath cauſe to be aſhamed. *Pro.* 14. 24. *Rom.* 6. 21.

'But it is a ſhame for a man to wear long hair, '1 *Cor.* 11. 14. Therefore 'tis a Sin.

'*Obj.* It was then ſo;' but now 'tis a Faſhion 'and glory to do otherwiſe.

'*Anſw.* Nature is the ſame now as then, Un-'changeable. It ſpeaks as loud now as it did 'then; only *our Ears are ſo covered with Locks,* '*that we cannoe hear it.*

'Again, Long Hair on the Head, and no Hair 'on the Face, is the Habit of a Woman, 1 *Cor.* '11. 16. But it is a ſinful *Abomination* for a 'Man to wear the Habit of a Woman. *Deut.* 22. 5.

'Therefore 'tis a ſinful Abomination for a 'man to wear long hair on his Head, and no 'Hair on his Face,

With theſe, and many other ſuch perſwaſions did he endeavour to obviate the *Luxury* which he ſaw the times degenerating apace into; and

he

he added hereunto his own Example, as a continual and effectual Sermon against what he thought was to be condemned in the World.

ARTICLE IV.

His Exquiſite Charity.

HE that will write of *Eliot*, muſt write of Charity, or ſay nothing. His Charity was a Star of the firſt Magnitude in the bright Conſtellation of his Virtues; and the Rays of it were wonderfully various and extenſive.

His Liberality to pious Uſes, whether publick or private, went much beyond the proportions of his little Eſtate in the World. Many hundreds of Pounds did he freely beſtow upon the Poor; and he would with a very forcible importunity preſs his Neighbours to joyn with him in ſuch Beneficences. 'Twas a marvellous Alacrity with which he embraced all opportunities of Relieving any that were miſerable: And the good People of *Roxbury* doubtleſs cannot remember (but the Righteous God will) how often, and with what Ardors, with what Arguments, he became a Beggar to them for Collections in their Aſſemblies, to ſupport ſuch needy Objects as had fallen under his Obſervation. The poor counted him their Father, and repaired ſtill unto him, with a filial Confidence in their Neceſſities; and they were more than ſeven or

eight, or, indeed, than ſo many ſcores, who received their Portions of his Bounty. Like that worthy and famous *Engliſh* General, he could not perſwade himſelf, *That he had any thing but what he gave away*; but he drove a mighty Trade at ſuch Exerciſes as he thought would furniſh him with Bills of Exchange, which he hoped after many days to find the comfort of; and yet after all, he would ſay, like one of the moſt charitable Souls that ever lived in the World, *That looking over his Accounts, he could no where find the God of Heaven charged a Debtor there.* He did not put off his Charity, to be put in his laſt Will, as many who therein ſhew that their Charity is againſt their will; but he was his own Adminiſtrator; he made his own Hands his Executors, and his own Eyes his Overſeers. It has been Remark'd, That liberal Men are often long-liv'd Men; ſo do they after many days find the Bread with which they have been willing to keep other Men alive. The great Age of our *Eliot* was but agreeable to this Remark; and when his Age had unfitted him for almoſt all Employments, and bereaved him of thoſe Gifts and Parts which once he had been Accompliſhed with, being asked, *How he did?* he would ſometimes anſwer, *Alas, I have loſt every thing; my Underſtanding leaves me, my Memory fails me, my Utterance fails me; but I thank God my Charity holds out ſtill; I find that rather grows than fails!* And I make no queſtion, That at his Death, his happy Soul was received and welcomed into the

the everlasting habitations, by many scores got thither before him, of such as his Charity had been liberal unto.

But besides these more substantial Expressions of his Charity, he made the Odours of that Grace yet more fragrant unto all that were about him, by that Pitifulness and that Peacefulness, which rendred him yet further Amiable. If any of his Neighbourhood were in distress, he was like a *Brother born for their Adversity*, he would visit them, and comfort them with a most Fraternal Sympathy; yea, 'tis not easie to recount how many whole days of Prayer with Fasting he has got his Neighbours to keep with him, on the behalf of those whose Calamities he found himself touched withal. It was an extreme satisfaction to him, that his Wife had attained unto a considerable skill in Physick and Chyrurgery, which enabled her to dispense many safe, good, and useful Medicines unto the Poor that had occasion for them; and some hundreds of sick, and weak, and maimed People owed praises to God for the Benefit which therein they freely received of her. The good Gentleman, her Husband, would still be casting Oyl into the Flame of that Charity, wherein she was of her own accord abundantly forward thus to be *doing of good unto all*; and he would urge her to be serviceable unto the worst enemies that he had in the World. Never had any Man fewer Enemies than he! But once having delivered something in his Ministry which displeased one of his Hearers, the

Man

Man did paſſionately abuſe him for it, and this both with Speeches and with Writings that reviled him. Yet it happening not long after, that this man gave himſelf a very dangerous wound; Mr. *Eliot* immediately ſends his Wife to cure him; who did accordingly. When the man was well, he came to thank her; but ſhe took no Rewards; and this good Man made him ſtay and eat with him, taking no notice of all the Calumnies with which he had loaded him; but by this carriage he ſtrangely mollified and conquered the Stomach of his Reviler.

He was alſo a great Enemy to all Contention, and would ring a loud *Courfeu-Bell* wherever he ſaw the Fires of Animoſity. When he heard any Miniſters complain, that ſuch and ſuch in their Flocks were too *difficult* for them, the ſtrain of his Anſwer ſtill was, *Brother, Compaſs them!* and *Brother, learn the meaning of thoſe three little words, Bear, Forbear, Forgive.* Yea, his inclinations for Peace, indeed, ſometimes almoſt made him to ſacrifice *Right* it ſelf. When there was laid before an Aſſembly of Miniſters, a bundle of Papers which contained certain matters of Difference and Contention between ſome People, which our *Eliot* thought ſhould rather unite, with an *Amneſty* upon all their former Quarrels, he, (with ſome imitation of what *Conſtantine* did upon the like occaſion) haſtily threw the Papers into the Fire before them all, and with a Zeal for Peace, as hot as that Fire, ſaid immediately, *Brethren, wonder not at what I have done, I did it*

on

on my Knees this morning before I came among you. Such an exceſs (if it were one) flow'd from his charitable Inclinations, to be found among thoſe Peace-makers, which by following the Example of that Man who is our Peace, come to be called, *The children of God.* Very worthily might he be called an *Irenæus*, as being all for Peace; and the Commendation which *Epiphanius* gives unto the Ancient of that Name, did belong unto our *Eliot*, he was a *moſt bleſſed and a moſt holy Man.* He diſliked all ſorts of Bravery; but yet with an ingenious Note upon the *Greek* word in *Col.* 3. 15. he propounded, *That peace might brave it among us.* In ſhort, wherever he came, it was like another old *John*, with ſolemn and earneſt perſwaſives to Love; and when he could ſay little elſe, he would give that Charge, *My Children, love one another!*

Finally, 'twas his Charity which diſpoſed him to continual Apprecations for, and Benedictions on thoſe that he met withal; he had an Heart full of good Wiſhes, and a Mouth full of kind Bleſſings for them. And he often made his Expreſſions very wittily, agreeable to the circumſtances which he ſaw the Perſons in. Sometimes when he came into a Family, he would call for all the young People in it, that ſo he might very diſtinctly lay his holy Hands upon every one of them, and beſpeak the Mercies of Heaven for them all.

ART.

ARTICLE V.

Some special Attainments, that were the effects of his Piety and Charity.

BUT what was the effect of this Exemplary Piety and Charity in our *Eliot?* It will be no wonder, to my Reader, if I tell him, That this good Man *walked in the light of God's Countenance all the day long.* I believe he had a continual assurance of the Divine Love, marvellously Sealing, Strengthning, and Refreshing of him, for many lustres of Years before he dy'd; and for this cause the fear of Death was extirpated out of his heavenly Soul, more than out of most Men alive. Had our blessed Jesus at any time sent his Waggons to fetch this old *Jacob* away, he would have gone without the least reluctancies. Labouring once under a Fever and Ague, a Visitant asked him *how he did?* and he repli'd, *Very well, but anon I expect a paroxysm.* Said the Visitant, *Sir, fear not*; but unto that he answered, *Fear! No, no; I been't afraid, I thank God, I been't afraid to die!* Dying would not have been any more to him, than Sleeping to a weary Man.

And another Excellency, which accompanied this Courage and Comfort in him was, *A wonderful resignation to the Will of God in all Events.* There were sore Afflictions that sometimes befel him,

him, especially when he follow'd some of his hopeful and worthy Sons, two or three desirable Preachers of the Gospel, to their Graves. But he sacrificed them, like another *Abraham*, with such a sacred indifferency, as made all the Spectators to say, *This could not be done without the Fear of God.* Yea, he bore all his Trials with an admirable patience, and seemed loth to have any will of his own, that should not be wholly melted and moulded into the Will of his heavenly Father. Once being in a Boat at Sea, a larger Vessel unhappily over-run, and over-set that little one, which had no small concerns, because *Eliot*'s in the bottom of it; he immediately sunk without any expectation of ever going to Heaven any other way; and when he imagined that he had but one breath more to draw in the World, it was this, *The will of the Lord be done!* But it was *the will of the Lord* that he should survive the danger, for he was rescued by the help that was then at hand; and he that had long been like *Moses* in every thing else, was now *drawn out of the Waters:* Which gives me opportunity to mention one Remarkable that had some relation hereunto. This accident happened in the time of our *Indian* Wars, when some furious *English* People that clamoured for the extirpation of the Praying *Indians*, which were in subjection unto us, as well as the *Pagan Indians* that were in Hostillity against us, vented a very wicked Rage at our holy *Eliot*, because of his concernment for the *Indians*; and one

one profane Monſter hearing how narrowly Mr. *Eliot* eſcap'd from drowning, wiſh'd (as I am credibly informed) that this Man of God had then been drowned. But within a few days, that woful Man by a ſtrange diſtaſter was drowned in that very place, where Mr. *Eliot* had received his Deliverance.

There was indeed a certain health of Soul which he arriv'd unto; and he kept in a bleſſed meaſure clear of thoſe Diſtempers which too often diſorder the moſt of Men. But the God of Heaven favoured him with ſomething that was yet more extraordinary! By getting and keeping near to God, and by dwelling under the ſhadow of the Almighty, he contracted a more exquiſite ſenſe of mind, than what is uſual among other Profeſſors of Chriſtianity; he ſometimes felt a lively touch of God upon his refined and exalted Spirit, which were not in any Paper of ours lawful or eaſie to be uttered; and he was admitted unto a ſingular Familiarity with the *Holy One of Iſrael.* Hence 'twas, that as Bodies of a rare and fine conſtitution will forebode the changes of the Weather; ſo the ſublimed Soul of our *Eliot* often had ſtrange forebodings of things that were to come. I have been aſtoniſhed at ſome of his Predictions, that were both of a more perſonal, and of a more general application, and were follow'd with exact accompliſhments. If he ſaid of any Affair, *I cannot bleſs it*! it was a worſe Omen to it than the moſt inauſpicious preſages in the World;

World; but ſometimes, after he had been with God about a thing, he was able ſucceſsfully to foretell, *I have ſet a mark upon it, it will do well.* I ſhall never forget, That when *England* and *Holland* were plunged into the unhappy War, which the more ſenſible Proteſtants every where had but ſorrowful apprehenſions of, our *Eliot* being in the height and heat of the War, privately asked, *What News we might look for next?* anſwered, unto the ſurprize of the Enquirer, *Our next News will be, a Peace between the two Proteſtant Nations; God knows, I pray for it every Day; and I am verily perſwaded we ſhall hear of it ſpeedily!* and it came to paſs accordingly.

It is to be confeſſed, That the written Word of God is to be regarded as the perfect and only Rule of our Lives; that in all Articles of Religion, if Men *ſpeak not according to this word, there is no light in them*; and that it is no warrantable or convenient thing for Chriſtians to look for ſuch Inſpirations as directed the Prophets that were the Pen-men of the Scriptures. Nevertheleſs, there are ſome uncommon Inſtances of Communion and Fruition, which in our days the Soveraign God here and there favours a good Man withal; and they are very Heavenly Perſons, Perſons well purifi'd from the *Faculencies* of Senſuality, and Perſons better purged from the Leaven of Envy and Malice, and intolerable Pride, than uſually thoſe vain pretenders to Revelations, the *Quakers* are, that are made partakers

partakers of theſe Divine Dainties. Now ſuch an one was our *Eliot*; and for this, *worthy to be had in everlaſting Remembrance.*

It would not be improper, under this File to lodge the ſingular and ſurprizing ſucceſſes of his Prayers! for they were ſuch, that in our diſtreſſes we ſtill repair'd unto him, under that encouragement, *He is a Prophet, and he ſhall pray for thee, and thou ſhalt live.* I ſhall ſingle out but one, from the many that might be mentioned: There was a godly Gentleman of *Charlſtown*, one Mr. *Foſter*, who, with his Son, was taken Captive by *Turkiſh* Enemies: Much Prayer was made both privately and publickly, by the good People here, for the Redemption of that Gentleman; but we were at laſt informed, that the bloody Prince in whoſe Dominions he was now a ſlave, was reſolved that in his life-time no Priſoner ſhould be releaſed; and ſo the diſtreſſed Friends of this Priſoner, now concluded, *Our Hope is loſt!* Well, upon this, Mr. *Eliot* in ſome of his next Prayers, before a very ſolemn Congregation, very broadly begg'd, *Heavenly Father, work for the Redemption of thy poor Servant* Foſter; *and if the Prince which detains him will not, as they ſay, diſmiſs him as long as himſelf lives, Lord, we pray thee to kill that cruel Prince; kill him, and glorifie thy ſelf upon him.* And now, behold the anſwer: The poor captived Gentleman quickly returns to us that had been mourning for him as a loſt Man, and brings us News, that the Prince which had hitherto held

held him, was come to an untimely Death, by which means he was now ſet at Liberty. Thus we now know, *That a Prophet has been among us!*

PART II.

Or, Eliot *as a Miniſter.*

ARTICLE I.

His Miniſterial Accompliſhments.

THE Grace of God, which we have ſeen ſo Illuſtriouſly Endowing and Adorning of our *Eliot*, as well qualifi'd him for, as diſpos'd him to the Employment wherein he ſpent about Six Decads of his Years; which was, *The ſervice of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in the Miniſtry of the Goſpel.* This was the work to which he appli'd himſelf; and he undertook it, I believe, with as right Thoughts of it, and as good Ends in it, as ever any Man in our Days was acted with. He look'd upon the Conduct of a Church, as a thing no leſs Dangerous than Important, and attended with ſo many Difficulties, Temptations, and Humiliations, as that nothing but a Call from the Son of God, could have encouraged him unto the ſuſception of it. He ſaw that Fleſh and

Blood would find it no very pleaſant thing to be oblig'd unto the overſight of a number, that by a ſolemn Covenant ſhould be liſted among the Voluntiers of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; that it was no eaſie thing to feed the Souls of ſuch a People, and of the Children and the Neighbours which were to be brought into the ſame Sheepfold with them; to bear their manners with all patience, not being by any of their Infirmities diſcouraged from Teaching of them, and from Watching and Praying over them; to value them highly as *the Flock which God has purchaſed with his own Blood*, notwithſtanding all their miſcarriages; and in all to examine the *Rule of Scripture* for the warrant of whatever ſhall be done; and to remember the Day of Judgment, wherein an account muſt be given of all that has been done; having in the mean time no expectation of the Riches and Grandeurs which accompany a worldly Domination. It was herewithal his Opinion, *That* (as the great *Owen* expreſſes it) *notwithſtanding all the countenance that is given to any Church by the publick Miniſtry, yet whilſt we are in this World, thoſe who will faithfully diſcharge their Duty, as Miniſters of the Goſpel, ſhall have need to be prepared for ſufferings*; and it was in a ſenſe of theſe things that he gave himſelf up to the Sacred Miniſtry. A ſtranger to Regeneration can be but poorly accompliſhed for ſuch a Miniſtry; and however God may proſper the Sermons of ſuch a Man for the advantage of his Church: However the building of the Ark may be

be help'd on by ſuch Carpenters as periſh in the Flood, and the *Tyrians* may do ſome work about the Temple, who arrive to no Worſhip in the Inner-Courts thereof; and as *Auſtin* expreſſed it, a Stone-cutter may convey Water into a Garden, without having himſelf any advantage of it; nevertheleſs, the unſanctifi'd Miniſter, how gifted, how able ſoever he may be, muſt have it ſtill ſaid unto him, *Thou lackeſt one thing*! and that *one thing* our *Eliot* had. But the *one thing* was not *all*! as, indeed, it would not have been *enough*. God furniſhed him with a good meaſure of Learning too, which made him capable to *divide the Word aright*. He was a moſt acute *Grammarian*; and underſtood very well the Languages which God firſt wrote his Holy Bible in. He had a ſharp inſight into all the other Liberal Arts, and made little Syſtems of them for the uſe of certain *Indians*, whoſe exacter Education he was deſirous of. But, above all, he had a moſt eminent Skill in *Theology*; and that which profane ſcoffers reproach'd as the diſgrace of the bleſſed *Alting*, all of whoſe Works always weigh down the pureſt Gold, was the honour of our *Eliot*, namely, to be *Scripturarius Theologus*, or, *one mighty in the Word*; which enabled him to convince Gain-ſayers, and on all occaſions to ſhow himſelf, *a thorough Divine, and a Workman that needed not be aſhamed*.

In ſhort, he came like another *Bezaleel*, or *Aholiab*, unto the ſervice of the Tabernacle. And from one particularity in that part of his

Learning which lay in the Affairs of the Tabernacle, it was, that in a little Book of his, we have thoſe Lines, which for a certain cauſe I now tranſcribe; *Oh that the Lord would put it* (ſays he) *into the heart of ſome of his Religious and Learned Servants, to take ſuch pains about the* Hebrew *Language, as to fit it for univerſal uſe! Conſidering, that above all Languages ſpoken by the Lip of Man, it is moſt capable to be enlarged, and fitted to expreſs all things, and motions, and notions, that our humane Intellect is capable of in this mortal life; conſidering alſo, that it is the Invention of God himſelf; and what one is fitter to be the univerſal Language, than that which it pleaſed our Lord Jeſus to make uſe of, when he ſpake from Heaven unto* Paul?

ARTICLE II.

His Family-Government.

THE Apoſtle *Paul*, reciting and requiring the Qualifications of a Goſpel Miniſter, gives order, *That he be the husband of one wife, and one that ruleth well his own houſe, having his children in ſubjection with all gravity.* It ſeems that a man's carriage in his own Houſe is a part, or at leaſt a ſign of his due Deportment in the Houſe of God; and then, I am ſure, our *Eliot*'s was very Exemplary. That *one wife*, which was given to him truly *from the Lord*, he loved, prized, cheriſhed, with a Kindneſs that notably repreſented

preſented the Compaſſion which he (thereby) taught his Church to expect from the Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and after he had lived with her for more than half an hundred years, he followed her to the Grave, with Lamentations beyond thoſe which the *Jews* from the Figure of a Letter in the Text affirm, that *Abraham* deplored his aged *Sarah* with; her departure made a deeper impreſſion upon him, than what any common Affliction could. His whole Converſation with her had that ſweetneſs, and that gravity and modeſty beautifying of it, that every one called them *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*. His Family was a little *Bethel*, for the Worſhip of God conſtantly and exactly maintained in it; and unto the daily Prayers of the Family, his manner was to prefix the reading of the Scripture; which being done, 'twas alſo his manner to make his young People chuſe a certain paſſage in the Chapter, and give him ſome Obſervations of their own upon it. By this method he did mightily ſharpen and improve, as well as try their Underſtandings, and endeavour to make them *wiſe unto Salvation*. He was likewiſe very ſtrict in the Education of his Children, and more careful to mend any error in their Hearts and Lives, than he could have been to cure a blemiſh in their Bodies. No Exorbitancies or Extravagancies could find a room under his Roof; nor was his' Houſe any other than a *School of Piety*; one might have there ſeen a perpetual mixture of a *Spartan* and a *Chriſtian* Diſcipline. Whatever decay there

might be upon *Family-Religion* among us, as for our *Eliot*, *we knew him, that he would command his Children, and his Houſhold after him, that they ſhould keep the way of the Lord.*

ARTICLE III.

His way of Preaching.

SUch was he in his leſſer Family! and in his greater Family he manifeſted ſtill more of his regards to the Rule of a Goſpel-Miniſtry. To his Congregation, he was a Preacher that made it his care to *give every one their Meat in due ſeaſon.* It was Food and not Froth, which in his publick Sermons he entertained the Souls of his People with; he did not ſtarve them with emptiness and windy ſpeculations, or with ſuch things as *Animum non dant, quia non habent.* His way of Preaching was very plain, ſo that the very Lambs might wade into his diſcourſes on thoſe Texts and Themes wherein Elephants might ſwim; and herewithal it was very powerful, his delivery was always very graceful and grateful; but when he was to uſe Reproofs and Warnings againſt any ſin, his Voice would riſe into a warmth which had in it very much of Energy as well as Decency; he would brandiſh the Swords, and ſound the Trumpets of God againſt all Vice, with a moſt penetrating Livelineſs, and make his Pulpit another Mount *Sinai*, for the flaſhes of Lightning

ning therein display'd against the breaches of the Law given upon that *burning Mountain*. And, I observed, that there was usually a special fervour in the Rebukes which he bestow'd upon Carnality, a carnal frame and life in Professors of Religion; when he was to brand the Earthly-mindedness of Church-Members, and the Allowance and the Indulgence which they often gave unto themselves in sensual Delights, here he was a right *Boanerges*; he then spoke, as 'twas said one of the Ancients did, *Quot verba tot Fulmina*, as many Thunderbolts as Words.

It was another property of his Preaching, that there was evermore much of Christ in it; and with *Paul* he could say, *I determined to know nothing but Jesus Christ*; having that Blessed Name in his Discourses, with a frequency like that with which *Paul* mentions it in his *Epistles*. As 'twas noted of Dr. *Bodly*, that whatever subject he were upon in the Application, still his Use of it would be *to drive Men unto the Lord Jesus Christ*; in like manner, the Lord Jesus Christ was the Loadstone which gave a touch to all the Sermons of our *Eliot*; a glorious, precious, lovely *Christ* was the Point of Heaven which they still verged unto. From this Inclination it was, that altho' he printed several *English* Books before he dy'd, yet his Heart seemed not so much in any of them, as in that serious and savoury Book of his Intituled, *The Harmony of the Gospels, in the Holy History of Jesus Christ*. From hence also 'twas that he would give that Advice

to young Preachers, *Pray let there be much of Chriſt in your Miniſtry*; and when he had heard a Sermon which had any ſpecial reliſh of a bleſſed Jeſus in it, he would ſay thereupon, *O bleſſed be God, that we have Chriſt ſo much and ſo well preached in poor* New-England!

Moreover, he lik'd no Preaching but what had been well-ſtudied for; and he would very much commend a Sermon which he could perceive had required ſome good *Thinking* and *Reading* in the Author of it. I have been preſent when he has unto a Preacher then juſt come home from the Aſſembly with him, thus expreſſed himſelf, *Brother, there was Oyl required for the Service of the Sanctuary; but it muſt be beaten Oyl; I praiſe God that I ſaw your Oyl ſo well beaten to day; the Lord help us always by good ſtudy to beat our Oyl, that there may be no knots in our Sermons left undiſſolved, and that there may a clear light be thereby given in the Houſe of God!* And yet he likewiſe look'd for ſomething in a Sermon beſide and beyond the meer ſtudy of Man; he was for having the *Spirit of God* breathing in it and with it; and he was for ſpeaking thoſe things from thoſe Impreſſions, and with thoſe Affections, which might compel the Hearer to ſay, *The Spirit of God was here!* I have heard him complain, *It is a ſad thing when a Sermon ſhall have that one thing*, the Spirit of God, *wanting in it.*

ART.

ARTICLE IV.

His Cares about the Children of his People.

BUT he remembred that he had Lambs in his Flock, and like another *David* he could not endure to ſee the Lion ſeize upon any of them. He always had a mighty concern upon his mind for little Children; 'twas an affectionate ſtroke in one of the little Papers which he publiſhed for them, *Sure Chriſt is not willing to loſe his Lambs*; and I have cauſe to remember with what an hearty, fervent, zealous Application he addreſs'd himſelf, when in the Name of the Neighbour Paſtors and Churches he gave me *the right-hand of Fellowſhip at my Ordination*, and ſaid, *Brother, Art thou a lover of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt? Then, I pray, Feed his Lambs.*

One thing whereof he was very deſirous for poor Children, was the Covenanting of them; he was very ſolicitous that the Lambs might paſs under the Lord's Tything Rod, and be brought under *the Bond of the Covenant*. He very openly and earneſtly maintained the Cauſe of *Infant-Baptiſm*, againſt a ſort of Perſons riſen ſince the *Reformation*, (among which indeed there are many godly Men, that were dear to the Soul of our *Eliot*) who forget that in the Goſpel Church-ſtate, as well as in the *Jewiſh*, *the Promiſe is to Believers and their Children*; and are unwil-

unwilling to reckon Children among the Diſciples of Jeſus Chriſt, or to grant, *That of ſuch is the Kingdom of Heaven:* or to know, That the moſt undoubted Records of Antiquity affirm *Infant-Baptiſm* to have been an uſage in all the Primitive Churches: That even before the early days of *Nazianzen*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Baſil*, *Athanaſius*, *Epiphanius* in the *Greek*, and *Ambroſe*, *Jerom*, *Auſtin* in the *Latin* Church, all of which give glorious Teſtimonies for *Infant-Baptiſm*; even *Cyprian*, before theſe, aſſures us, that in his days there was no doubt of it; and *Origen* before him could ſay, *'Twas from the Apoſtles that the Church took up the Baptiſm of Infants*; and *Clemens Romanus* before him could ſay, *That Children ſhould be Recipients of the Diſcipline of Chriſt*; beſides what plain evidence we have in *Irenæus* and *Juſtin Martyr*; and that the very Arguments with which ſome of the Ancients did ſuperſtitiouſly adviſe the delay of *Baptiſm*, do at the ſame time confeſs the *Divine Right* of *Infants* in it. Our *Eliot* could by no means look upon the *Infants* of godly Men as Unholy, and Unbelievers, and unfit Subjects to have upon them a *Mark* of Dedication to the Lord.

Wherefore, when there was brought among us a Book of pious Mr. *Norcot*'s, whereby ſome became Diſpoſed to, or Confirmed in a prejudice againſt *Pædo-Baptiſm*, it was not long before Mr. *Eliot* publiſhed a little Anſwer thereunto; the firſt Lines whereof preſently diſcover what a Temper he writ it with; ſays he, *The Book*

Book ſpeaks with the Voice of a Lamb, and I think the Author is a godly, though erring Brother; but he acts the cauſe of a roaring Lion, who by all crafty ways ſeeketh to devour the poor Lambs of the Flock of Chriſt. And ſo he goes on to plead the Cauſe of them that cannot ſpeak for themſelves. No Man could entertain a Perſon of a different Perſwaſion from himſelf, with more ſweetneſs and kindneſs than he, when he ſaw *Aliquid Chriſti*, or the Fear of God prevailing in them; he could uphold a moſt intimate Correſpondence with ſuch a Man as Mr. *Jeſſey*, as long as he lived; and yet he knew how to be an *Hammer* upon their unhappy Errors.

But having once Baptized the Children of his Covenanting Neighbours, he did not as too many Miniſters do, think that he had now done with them. No, another thing wherein he was very laborious for poor Children was, the Catechiſing of them; he kept up the great Ordinance of *Catechiſing*, both publickly and privately, and ſpent in it a world of time. About the end of the *Second Century*, before there had in the leaſt begun to ſtart up *new Officers* in the Church of God, we find there were Perſons called unto the Office of *Publick Teaching*, who were not Paſtors, not Rulers, nor called unto the Adminiſtration of other Ordinances; thoſe in the Church of *Alexandria*, were of a ſpecial Remark aud Renown for their Abilities this way; and their Employment was to Explain and to Defend the Principles of the Chriſtian Religion, unto all with whom

whom they could be concerned. Here was the Catechiſt, with reference unto whom the Apoſtle ſays, *Let the Catechiſed communicate unto him in all good things.* Now, tho ſome think, a Teacher, purely as ſuch, hath no Right unto further Church-Adminiſtrations, any more than the Rabbies and Doctors among the *Jews*, had to *offer Sacrifices in the Temple*; yet he who is called to be a *Teacher*, may at the ſame time alſo be called to be an *Elder*; and being now a Teaching Elder, he becomes intereſted in the whole Government of the Church, he has the power of all Sacred Adminiſtrations. 'Tis the latter and more compleat and perfect Character, which the Churches of *New-England* have ſtill acknowledged in their Teachers; and ſuch a Teaching-Elder did our *Eliot* remember himſelf to be. He thought himſelf under a particular Obligation to be that Officer, which the Apoſtle calls in 1 Cor. 4. 15. *An Inſtructor of the young*; nor was he aſhamed, any more than ſome of the worthieſt men among the Ancients were, to be called, A Catechiſt. He would obſerve upon *Joh.* 21. 15. That, *the care of the Lambs is one third part of the charge over the Church of God.* It would be incredible, if I ſhould relate what pains he took to keep up the bleſſed Eccho's of Truth between himſelf, and the young people of his Congregation; and what prudence he uſed, in ſuiting of his Catechiſms to the age and ſtrength of his little Catechumens. But one thing I muſt obſerve, which is, That although there may be,

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(as one has computed) no leſs than five hundred Catechiſms extant; yet Mr. *Eliot* gave himſelf the Travel of adding to their number, by compoſing of ſome further Catechiſms, which were more particularly deſigned as an Antidote for his own people, againſt the Contagion of ſuch Errors as might threaten any peculiar danger to them. And the effect and ſucceſs of this Catechiſing, bore proportion to the indefatigable induſtry with which he proſecuted it; it is a *well-principled people* that he has left behind him. As when certain Jeſuits were ſent among the *Waldenſes* to corrupt their Children, they returned with much Diſappointment and Confuſion, becauſe the Children of ſeven years old, were well-principled enough to encounter the moſt Learned of them all; ſo, if any Seducers were let looſe to wolve it among the good people of *Roxbury*, I am confident, they would find as little prey in that well-inſtructed place, as in any part of all the Countrey; no Civil Penalties would ſignify ſo much to ſave any people from the Snares of buſie Hereticks, as the unwearied Catechiſing of one *Eliot* has done to preſerve his people from the gangreen of ill Opinions.

There is a third inſtance of his Regards to the welfare of the poor Children under his charge; and that is, his perpetual Reſolution and Activity to ſupport a good School in the Town that belong'd unto him. A Grammar-School he would always have upon the place whatever it coſt him; and he importun'd all other

other places to have the like. I can't forget the Ardour with which I once heard him pray in a Synod of theſe Churches, which met at *Boſton*, to conſider, *How the miſcarriages which were among us might be prevented*; I ſay, with what Fervor he uttered an Expreſſion to this purpoſe; *Lord, for Schools every-where among us! That our Schools may flouriſh! That every Member of this Aſſembly, may go home and procure a good School to be encouraged in the Town where he lives! that before we dye, we may be ſo happy as to ſee a good ſchool encouraged in every Plantation of the Country.* God ſo bleſſed his Endeavours, that *Roxbury* could not live quietly without a *Free School* in the Town; and the iſſue of it has been one thing, which has made me almoſt put the Title of *Schola Illuſtris* upon that little Nurſery; that is, That *Roxbury* has afforded more Scholars, firſt for the College, and then for the Publick, than any Town of its bigneſs; or, if I miſtake not, of twice its bigneſs in all *New-England.* From the Spring of the School at *Roxbury*, there have run a large number of the *ſtreams, which have made glad this whole City of God.* I perſuade my ſelf, that the good people of *Roxbury* will for ever ſcorn to begrutch the Coſt, or to permit the Death of a School which God has made ſuch an honour to them; and this the rather, becauſe their deceaſed *Eliot* has left them a fair part of his own Eſtate for the maintaining of the School in *Roxbury*; and I hope, or at leaſt, I wiſh, that the Miniſters of

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New-England may be as ungainſayably importunate with their people, as Mr. *Eliot* was with his, for Schools, which may ſeaſonably tinge the young Souls of the Riſing Generation. A want of Education for them, is the blackeſt and ſaddeſt of all the bad Omens that are upon us.

ARTICLE V.

His Church-Diſcipline.

IT yet more Endears unto us the Memory of our *Eliot*, that he was not only an Evangelical Miniſter, but alſo a true *New-Engliſh* one; he was a Proteſtant, and a Puritan, and one very full of that Spirit which acted the firſt Planters of this Country, in their peaceable Seceſſion from the unwarrantable things elſewhere impos'd upon their Conſciences. The Judgment and Practice of one that readily underwent all the miſery attending the Infancy of this Plantation, for the ſake of a true Church-order, is a thing which we young people ſhould count worthy to be enquired after; and ſince we ſaw him ſo well *behaving himſelf in the Houſe of God*, it cannot but be worth while to know what he thought about the Frame, and Form, and Conſtitution of that bleſſed Houſe.

It was his as well as his Maſter, the great *Ramus*'s principle, *That in the Reformation of Churches to be now endeavoured, things ought to be reduced unto the*

the Order wherein we find them at their Primitive, Original, Apoſtolical Inſtitution. And in purſuance of this principle, he juſtly eſpouſed that way of *Church-Government* which we call the *Congregational*; he was fully perſwaded, that the *Church ſtate* which our Lord Chriſt hath inſtituted in the New Teſtament, is, *In a Congregation or Society of Profeſſed Believers, Agreeing and Aſſembling together, among themſelves, with Officers of Divine Appointment, for the Celebration of Evangelical Ordinances, and their own mutual Edification*: For he ſaw it muſt be a *cruel hardſhip* uſed upon the Scriptures, to make them ſo much as Liſp the leaſt intimation of any other *Church-ſtate* preſcrib'd unto us; and he could aſſert, *That no Approved Writers, for the ſpace of two hundred years after Chriſt, make any mention of any other Original, Viſible, Profeſſing Church, but that only which is Congregational.* He look'd upon the *Congregational* way as a Largeſs of Divine Bounty beſtow'd by the Lord Jeſus on his people, that follow'd him into this Wilderneſs, with a peculiar zeal for Communion with him, in his pure Worſhip here. He perceived in it, a ſweet ſort of *Temperament*, between *Rigid Presbyterianiſm*, and *Levelling Browniſm*; So that on the one ſide, the Liberties of the people are not oppreſſed and overlaid; on the other ſide, the Authority of the Elders is not rendred inſignificant, but a due *Ballance* is herein kept upon them both; and hence he cloſed with our *platform of Church-Diſci-*

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pline, as being the neareſt of what he had yet ſeen, to the *pattern in the Mount*.

He could not comprehend, that this *Church-ſtate* can ariſe from any other Formal cauſe, but the Conſent, Concurrence, Confederation of thoſe concerned in it; he looked upon a Relation unto a Church, as not a Natural, or a Violent, but a Voluntary thing, and ſo that it is to be entred no otherwiſe, than by an Holy Covenant, or, as the Scripture ſpeaks, by *giving our ſelves firſt unto the Lord, and then one unto another*. He could not think that Baptiſm alone was to be accounted the cauſe, but rather the effect of Church-memberſhip; inaſmuch as upon the Diſſolution of the Church to which a man belongs, his Baptiſm would not become a Nullity: nor that meer Profeſſion would render men members of this or that Church; for then it would be impoſſible to cut off a corrupt member from that Body Politick: Nor that meer Cohabitation would make Church-members; for then the vileſt Infidels would be actually incorporated with us. And a Covenant, was all that he now ſaw remaining in the Inventory.

But for the Subjects to be admitted by *Churches* unto all the Priviledges of this Fellowſhip with them, he thought they ought to be ſuch as a trying Charity, or a charitable Tryal, ſhould pronounce *Regenerate*. He found the firſt *Churches* of the Goſpel mentioned in the Scripture, to be Churches of Saints; and that the Apoſtles writing to them, ſtill acknowledged them to be

the Order wherein we find them at their Primitive, Original, Apoſtolical Inſtitution. And in purſuance of this principle, he juſtly eſpouſed that way of *Church-Government* which we call the *Congregational*; he was fully perſwaded, that the *Church ſtate* which our Lord Chriſt hath inſtituted in the New Teſtament, is, *In a Congregation or Society of Profeſſed Believers, Agreeing and Aſſembling together, among themſelves, with Officers of Divine Appointment, for the Celebration of Evangelical Ordinances, and their own mutual Edification*: For he ſaw it muſt be a *cruel hardſhip* uſed upon the Scriptures, to make them ſo much as Liſp the leaſt intimation of any other *Church-ſtate* preſcrib'd unto us; and he could aſſert, *That no Approved Writers, for the ſpace of two hundred years after Chriſt, make any mention of any other Original, Viſible, Profeſſing Church, but that only which is Congregational.* He look'd upon the *Congregational* way as a Largeſs of Divine Bounty beſtow'd by the Lord Jeſus on his people, that follow'd him into this Wilderneſs, with a peculiar zeal for Communion with him, in his pure Worſhip here. He perceived in it, a ſweet ſort of *Temperament*, between *Rigid Presbyterianiſm*, and *Levelling Browniſm*; So that on the one ſide, the Liberties of the people are not oppreſſed and overlaid; on the other ſide, the Authority of the Elders is not rendred inſignificant, but a due *Ballance* is herein kept upon them both; and hence he cloſed with our *platform of Church-Diſci-*

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Holy Brethren, and ſuch as were made *meet for to be partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints in Light*; and that a main end of Church-fellowſhip, is to repreſent unto the World, the Qualifications of thoſe that ſhall *Aſcend into the Hill of the Lord, and Stand in his Holy Place for ever.* He would therefore have, *Bona Mens*, and *Purum pectus*, and *Vita Innocens*, required, as *Lactantius* tells us, they were in his Dayes, of all Communicants at the Table of the Lord; and with Holy *Chryſoſtom*, he would ſooner have given his *Heart-blood*, than the *Cup of the Lord*, unto ſuch as had not the hopeful Marks of our Lord's Diſciples on them. The Churches of *New England* ſtill retain a Cuſtom which the great *Juſtin Martyr* in the ſecond Century aſſures us to have been in the Primitive Churches of his Time; namely, *To examine thoſe they Receive, not only about their perſuaſion, but alſo whether they have attained unto a work of Grace upon their Souls.* In the proſecution hereof, beſides the Enquiries of the Elders into the Knowledge and Belief and Converſation of them that offer themſelves unto Church-fellowſhip, it is expected, tho' I hope not with any ſeverity of impoſition, that in the Addreſſes which they make to the Churches, they give ſome Written, if not Oral Account, of what impreſſions the Regenerating Word of God has had upon their Souls. This was a Cuſtom which this holy man had a marvellous eſteem and value for; and I have taken from his Mouth ſuch as theſe Expreſſions

preſſions very publickly delivered thereabouts.
'It is matter (ſaid he) of great Thankfulneſs,
'that we have Chriſt Confeſſed in our Churches,
'by ſuch as we Recieve to full Communion
'there. They open the works of Chriſt in their
'Hearts, and the Relation thereof is an emi-
'nent *Confeſſion* of our Lord; experienced Saints
'can gather more than a little from it. It is in-
'deed an Ordinance of wonderful benefit; the
'Lord planted many Vineyards in the firſt Set-
'tlement of this Countrey, and there were ma-
'ny Noble Vines in them; it was their Heavenly-
'mindedneſs which diſpos'd them to this Exerciſe,
'and by the upholding of it, the Churches are
'ſtill filled with Noble Vines; it mightily main-
'tains purity of Churches. 'Tis the Duty of e-
'very Chriſtian, *With the Mouth Confeſſion is*
'*made unto Salvation.* As among the Jews, uſu-
'ally moſt men did once in their life celebrate a
'*Jubilee*; thus this Confeſſion of Chriſt, is me-
'thinks, a ſort of *Jubilee*; and every good man
'among us, is at leaſt once in his life call'd unto
'it. It is a thing that gives great Glory to the
'Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and younger Converts are
'thereby exceedingly Edify'd; and the Souls of
'Devout Chriſtians are hereby very much ingra-
'tiated one unto another. The Devil knows
'what he does, when he thruſts ſo hard to get
'this cuſtom out of our Churches. For my
'part, I would ſay in this caſe, *Get thee behind me*
'*Satan*; *thou giveſt an horrible offence unto the*
'*Lord Jeſus Chriſt*. Let us keep up this Ordi-

'nance with all Gentleneſs; and where we ſee 'the leaſt ſpark of Grace held forth, let us prize 'it more than all the Wit in the World.

There were eſpecially two things, which he was loth to ſee, and yet fear'd he ſaw, falling in the Churches of *New-England*. One was, a thorough Eſtabliſhment of Ruling-Elders in our Churches; which he thought ſufficiently warranted by the Apoſtles mention of *Elders that Rule well, who yet Labour not in Word and Doctrine.* He was very deſirous to have prudent and gracious men ſet over our Churches, for the Aſſiſtance of their Paſtors, in the Church-acts that concern the Admiſſion and Excluſion of Members, and the Inſpection of the Converſation led by the Communicants, and the Inſtruction of their ſeveral Families, and the Viſitation of the Afflicted in the Flock over which they ſhould preſide. Such *Helps in Government* had he himſelf been bleſſed withal; the laſt of which was the well-deſerving Elder *Bowles*; and of him, did this good man, in a Speech to a *Synod* of all the Churches in this Colony, take occaſion to ſay, *There is my Brother* Bowles, *the godly Elder of our Church at* Roxbury, *God helps him to do great things among us*! Had all our Paſtors been ſo well accommodated, it is poſſible there would be more encouragement given to ſuch an Office as that of *Ruling Elders.*

But the mention of a Synod brings to mind another thing, which he was concerned, that we might never want; and that is, a frequent Repetition

petition of needful Synods in our Churches. For tho' he had a deep and a due care to preserve the *Rights of particular Churches*; yet he thought all the Churches of the Lord Jesus by their Union in what they profess, in what they intend, and in what they enjoy, so compacted into one Body Mystical, as that all the several particular Churches every where should act with a regard unto the good of the whole, and unto the common Advice and Counsel of the Neighbourhood; which cannot be done always by *Letters missive*, like those that passed between *Corinth* and *Rome* in the early days of Christianity; but it requires a Convention of the Churches in Synods, by their Delegates and Messengers. He did not count Churches to be so Independent, as that they can always discharge their whole Duty, and yet not act in a conjunction with Neighbour-Churches; nor would he be of any Church that will not acknowledge it self accountable to rightly composed Synods, which may have occasion to enquire into the circumstances of it; he saw the main Interest and Business of Churches might quickly come to be utterly lost, if Synods were not often called for the Repairing of Inconveniencies; and he was much in contriving for the regular and repeated meeting of such Assemblies.

He wish'd for Councels to suppress all damnable Heresies or pernicious Opinions that might ever arise among us; for Councils to extinguish all dangerous Divisions and scandalous Conten-

tions which might ever begin to flame in our Borders; for Councils to rectifie all Male-Administrations in the midſt of us, or to recover any particular Churches out of any Diſorders which they may be plung'd into: For Councils to enquire into the Love, the Peace, the Holineſs maintained by the ſeveral Churches. In fine, for Councils to ſend forth fit Labourers into thoſe parts of our Lord's Harveſt which are without the Goſpel of God. He beheld an Apoſtolical Precept and Pattern for ſuch Councils; and when ſuch Councils convened in the Name of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by the conſent of ſeveral Churches concerned in mutual Communion, have declared, explained, recommended the Mind of God from his Word unto us, he reckoned a Truth ſo delivered, challenged an Obſervation from the particular Churches, with a very great Authority.

He therefore printed an ingenious little Book wearing this Title, *The Divine Management of Goſpel-Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, conſtituted in order according to the Scriptures, which may be a means of uniting thoſe two holy and eminent Parties, the* Presbyterians *and the* Congregational. It is a remarkable Conceſſion made by the incomparable *Jurieu*, who is not reckoned a *Congregational* Man, in his *Traite de l'Unite de l'Egliſe*, *That the Apoſtolical Churches lived not in any Confederation for mutual Dependance. The grand Equipage of Metropolitans, of Primates, of Exarchs, of Patriarchs, was yet unknown, nor does it any more appear to us that the Churches then had their Provincial,*

vincial, National, and Oecumenical Synods; every Church was its own Miſtris, and independent on any other. But on the other ſide, our *Eliot*, who was no *Presbyterian*, conceived Synods to be the Inſtitutions of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, the *Apoſtolical Churches* themſelves acknowledging a ſtamp of Divine Right upon them.

Such as theſe were the ſentiments of our *Eliot*; and his deſerved Reputation in the Churches of *New-England*, is that which has cauſed me to foreſee ſome Advantage and Benefit ariſing unto the concerns of the Goſpel, by ſo large a recitation as I have now made thereof.

The Reader has now ſeen an able Miniſter of the *New-Teſtament*.

PART III.

Or, Eliot *as an Evangeliſt.*

THE Titles of a *Chriſtian* and of a *Miniſter* have rendred our *Eliot* conſiderable; but there is one memorable Title more, by which he has been ſignalized unto us. An honourable Perſon did once in Print put the Name of an *Evangeliſt* upon him; whereupon in a Letter of his to that Perſon, afterwards printed, his Expreſſions were, *There is a Redundency where you put the Title of* Evangeliſt *upon me; I beſeech you to ſuppreſs all ſuch things; let us do, and ſpeak, and carry all things with Humility; it is the Lord who hath done what*

is done; and it is most becoming the Spirit of Jesus Christ, to lift up him, and lay our selves low; I wish that word could be obliterated. My Reader sees what a caution M. *Eliot* long-since entred against our giving him the Title of an *Evangelist*; but his Death has now made it safe, as his Life had long made it just, for us to acknowledge him with such a Title. I know not whether that of an *Evangelist*, or one separated for the Employment of Preaching the Gospel in such places where no Churches have hitherto been gathered, be not an Office that should be continued in our days; but this I know, that our *Eliot* very notably did the Service and Business of such an Officer.

¶ The Natives of the Country now possessed by the *New-Englanders*, had been forlorn and wretched ~~*Heathen* ever since their~~ first herding here; and tho' we know not *when* or *how* those *Indians* first became Inhabitants of this mighty Continent; yet we may guess, that probably the Devil decoy'd those miserable Salvages hither, in hopes that the Gospel of the Lord Jesus would never come here to destroy or disturb his *Absolute Empire* over them. But our *Eliot* was in such ill terms with the Devil, as to alarm him with sounding the Silver Trumpets of Heaven in his Territories, and make some noble and zealous attempts towards outing him of his ancient Possessions here. Just before the first arrival of the *English* in these Parts, a prodigious Mortality had swept away vast Numbers of the poor *Indians*: and those *Pagans* who being told by a Ship-

Shipwreck'd *French*-man which dy'd in their hands, *That God would ſhortly extirpate them, and introduce a more civil and worthy People into their place*, blaſphemouſly repli'd, *That God could not kill them*; were quickly kil'd with ſuch a raging and waſting Peſtilence, as left the very Earth covered with their Carcaſes. Nevertheleſs, there were, I think, twenty ſeveral Nations (if I may call them ſo) of *Indians* upon that ſpot of Ground, which fell under the Influence of our Three *United Colonies*; and our *Eliot* was willing to reſcue as many of them as he could, from that old uſurping Land-Lord of *America*, who is by the wrath of God, *the Prince of this World*.

I cannot find that any, beſides the Holy Spirit of God, firſt moved him to the bleſſed Work of Evangelizing theſe periſhing *Indians*; 'twas that Holy Spirit which laid before his mind the *Idea* of that which is now on the Seal of the *Maſſachuſet-Colony*; *A poor* Indian, *having a Label going from his Mouth, with a*, COME OVER AND HELP US. It was the Spirit of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which enkindled in him a Pity for the dark, dying, damning Souls of theſe Natives, whom *the God of this World had blinded*, through all the by-paſt Ages. He was none of thoſe that make *the ſalvation of the Heathen* an Article of their *Creed*; but (ſetting aſide the unrevealed and extraordinary Steps which the *Holy One of Iſrael* may take out of his uſual Paths) he thought Men to be loſt if our Goſpel be hidden from them; and he was of the ſame Opinion with one

one of the Ancients, who ſaid, *Some have endeavoured to prove* Plato *a Chriſtian, till they prove themſelves little better than Heathen.* It is indeed a Principle in the Turkiſh *Alcoran, That let a Man's Religion be what it will, he ſhall be ſaved, if he conſcientiouſly live up to the Rules of it*: But our *Eliot* was no *Mahometan*; he could moſt heartily ſubſcribe to that paſſage in the Articles of the Church of *England*; 'They are to be held 'accurſed, who preſume to ſay, that every Man 'ſhall be ſaved by the Law or Sect which he pro-'feſſeth, ſo that he be diligent to frame his Life 'according to that Law and Light of Nature; 'For Holy Scripture doth ſet out unto us, only 'the Name of Jeſus Chriſt, whereby Men muſt 'be ſaved. And it aſtoniſhed him to ſee many diſſembling Subſcribers of thoſe Articles, while they have grown up to ſuch a Phrenſie, as to deny peremptorily all Church-ſtate, and all Salvation to all that are not under *Dioceſan Biſhops*; yet at the ſame time to grant that the *Heathen* might be ſaved without the Knowledge of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt. No, it very powerfully moved his holy Bowels, to hear the Thunderclaps of that Imprecation over the Heads of our naked *Indians, Pour out thy Fury upon the Heathen that know thee not*; and thought he, *What ſhall I do to reſcue theſe Heathen from that all-devouring Fury?*

But when this Charitable pity had once begun to flame, there was a concurrence of many things to caſt Oyl into it. All the good men

men in the Country were glad of his engagement in such an undertaking; the Ministers especially encouraged him, and those in the Neighbourhood kindly supply'd his place, and perform'd his work, in part, for him at *Roxbury*, while he was abroad labouring among them that were without. Hereunto he was further awakened by those Expressions in the Royal Charter, in the assurance and protection whereof this Wilderness was first peopled; namely, *To win and incite the Natives of that Country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of Mankind, and the Christian Faith, in our Royal Intention; and the Adventurers free profession is the principal end of the Plantation.* And the remarkable Zeal of the *Romish* Missionaries *compassing Sea and Land that they might make Proselytes*, made his devout Soul think of it with a further disdain, that we should come any whit behind in our care to Evangelize the *Indians*, whom we dwelt among. Lastly, When he had well begun this Evangelical Business, the good God, in an answer to his Prayers, mercifully stirred up a liberal Contribution among the godly people in *England* for the promoting of it; by means whereof, a considerable Estate and Income was at length entrusted in the hands of an honourable Corporation, by whom 'tis to this day very carefully employ'd in the Christian Service, which it was designed for. And then, in short; inasmuch as our Lord Jesus had bestow'd on us, our *Eliot* was gratefully and generously desirous to obtain for him, *The Heathen for an Inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for a possession.*

The

The exemplary Charity of this excellent perſon in this important Affair, will not be ſeen in its due luſtre, unleſs we make ſome Reflections upon ſeveral Circumſtances which he beheld theſe forlorn *Indians* in. Know them, that theſe doleful Creatures are the verieſt *Ruines of Mankind*, which are to be found any where upon the face of the Earth. No ſuch Eſtates are to be expected among them, as have been the Baits which the pretended Converters in other Countries have ſnapped at. One might ſee among them, what an hard Maſter the Devil is to the moſt devoted of his Vaſſals! Theſe abject Creatures live in a Country full of Mines; we have already made entrance upon our Iron; and in the very ſurface of the ground among us there lies Copper enough to ſupply all this World; beſides other Mines hereafter to be expoſed; but our ſhiftleſs *Indians* were never Owners of ſo much as a Knife, till we came among them; their name for an *Engliſh-man*, was a *Knife-man*; Stone was inſtead of Metal for their Tools; and for their Coins, they have only little Beads with Holes in them to ſtring them upon a Bracelet, whereof ſome are white; and of theſe there go ſix for a penny; ſome are black or blew; and of theſe, go three for a penny; this *Wampam*, as they call it, is made of the Shell fiſh, which lies upon the Sea-coaſt continually.

They live in a Country, where we now have all the conveniencies of humane life: but as for them, their Houſing is nothing but a few Matts ty'd about Poles faſtened in the Earth, where a

good

good Fire is their Bed-clothes in the coldeſt Seaſons; their Clothing is but a skin of a Beaſt, covering their Hind-parts, their Fore-parts having but a little Apron where nature calls for ſecreſy; their Diet has not a greater dainty than their *Nokehick*, that is, a ſpoonful of their parch'd meal, with a ſpoonful of water, which will ſtrengthen them to travel a day together; except we ſhould mention the Fleſh of Deers, Bears, Mooſe, Rackoons, and the like, which they have when they can catch them; as alſo a little Fiſh, which if they would preſerve, 'twas by drying, not by ſalting; for they had not a grain of Salt in the World, I think, till we beſtow'd it on them. Their Phyſick is, excepting a few odd Specificks, which ſome of them encounter certain caſes with, nothing hardly, but an Hot-houſe, or a *Poway*: Their Hot-houſe is a little Cave, about eight foot over; where, after they have terribly heated it, a crew of them go ſit and ſweat, and ſmoke for an hour together, and then immediately run into ſome very cold adjacent brook, without the leaſt miſchief to them; 'tis this way they recover themſelves from ſome Diſeaſes, particularly from the *French*; but in moſt of their dangerous Diſtempers, 'tis a *Poway* that muſt be ſent for; that is, a Prieſt, who has more Familiarity with Satan than his Neighbours; this Conjurer comes and roars, and howls, and uſes Magical Ceremonies over the Sick man, and will be well paid for it when he has done; if this don't effect the cure, the *Man's Time is come, and there's an end.*

They

They live in a Country full of the beſt Ship-Timber under Heaven: but never ſaw a Ship till ſome came from *Europe* hither; and then they were ſcar'd out of their wits, to ſee the Monſter come ſailing in, and ſpitting fire with a mighty noiſe out of her floating ſide; they croſs the water in *Canoo's*, made ſometimes of Trees which they burn and hew till they have hollow'd them; and ſometimes of Barks, which they ſtitch into a light ſort of a Veſſel, to be eaſily carried over land; if they are over-ſet, it is but a little paddling like a Dog, and they are ſoon where they were.

Their way of living is infinitely barbarous: the men are moſt abominably ſloathful; making their poor *Squaws*, or Wives, to plant, and dreſs, and barn, and beat their Corn, and build their *Wegwams* for them; which, perhaps, may be the reaſon of their extraordinary eaſe in Childbirth. In the mean time, their chief employment, when they'l condeſcend unto any, is that of Hunting; wherein they'l go out ſome ſcores, if not hundreds of them in a company, driving all before them.

They continue in a place till they have burnt up all the Wood thereabouts, and then they pluck up Stakes, to follow the Wood which they cannot fetch home unto themſelves; hence when they enquire about the *Engliſh*, *Why come they hither?* they have themſelves very learnedly determined the caſe, *'Twas becauſe we wanted Firing.* No Arts are underſtood among them, unleſs juſt ſo far as to maintain their Brutiſh Converſation, which is little

little more than is to be found among the very *Bevers* upon our Streams.

Their division of Time is by Sleeps, and Moons, and Winters; and by lodging abroad they have somewhat observed the motions of the Stars; among which it has been surprising unto me to find, that they have always call'd *Charles's Wain* by the name of *Paukunnawaw*, or *The Bear*, which is the name whereby *Europeans* also have distinguished it. Moreover, they have little, if any Traditions among them worthy of our notice; and Reading and Writing is altogether unknown to them, tho there is a Rock or two in the Country that has unaccountable Characters engrav'd upon it. All the Religion they have, amounts unto thus much: They believe that there are many Gods, who made and own the several Nations of the World; of which a certain Great God in the South-west Regions of Heaven, bears the greatest Figure. They believe, that every remarkable Creature has a peculiar God within it, or about it: there is with them, a Sun-God, a Moon-God, and the like; and they cannot conceive but that the Fire must be a kind of a God, inasmuch as a Spark of it will soon produce very strange effects. They believe that when any good or ill happens to them, there is the favour or the anger of a God expressed in it; and hence, as in a time of Calamity, they keep a Dance, or a day of extravagant ridiculous Devotions to their God; so in a time of Prosperity they likewise have a Feast, wherein they also make presents one unto another.

ther. Finally, They believe, that their chief God *Kautantowit*, made a Man and Woman of a Stone; which upon diſlike, he broke to pieces, and made another Man and Woman of a Treee, which were the Fountains of all Mankind; and, that we all have in us immortal Souls, which, if we were godly, ſhall go to a ſplendid entertainment with *Kautantowit*; but otherwiſe, muſt wander about in a reſtleſs horror for ever. But if you ſay to them any thing of a Reſurrection, they will reply upon you, *I ſhall never believe it.* And when they have any weighty undertaking before them, 'tis an uſual thing for them to have their Aſſemblies, wherein after the uſage of ſome Diabolical Rites, a Devil appears unto them, to inform them, and adviſe them about their circumſtances; and ſometimes there are odd Events of their making theſe Applications to the Devil. For inſtance, 'tis particularly affirmed, That the *Indians* in their Wars with us, finding a ſore inconvenience by our Dogs, which would make a ſad yelling if in the night they ſcented the approaches of them, they ſacrificed a Dog to the Devil; after which no *Engliſh* Dog would bark at an *Indian* for divers months enſuing. This was the miſerable people which our *Eliot* propounded unto himſelf the ſaving of! And he had a double work incumbent on him; he was to make Men of them, ere he could hope to ſee them Saints; they muſt be civilized ere they could be Chriſtianized; he could nor, as *Gregory* once of our Nation, ſee any thing Angelical to beſpeak his Labours for their

eternal

eternal Welfare; all among them was Diabolical. To think on raiſing a Number of theſe hideous Creatures unto the Elevations of our holy Religion, muſt argue more than common or little Sentiments in the Undertaker; but the Faith of an *Eliot* could encounter it!

I confeſs there was one, I cannot call it ſo much gueſs as wiſh, wherein he was willing a little to indulge himſelf; and that was, *That our* Indians *are the Poſterity of the diſperſed and rejected* Iſraelites, concerning whom our God has promiſed *that they ſhall yet be ſaved by the Deliverer, coming to turn away ungodlineſs from them.* He ſaw the *Indians* uſing many Parables in their Diſcourſes; much given to anointing of their Heads; much delighted in Dancing, eſpecially after Victories; computing their Times by Nights and Months; giving Dowries for Wives, and cauſing their Women to *dwell by themſelves* at certain ſeaſons, for ſecret cauſes; and accuſtoming themſelves to grievous Mournings and Yellings for the Dead; all which were uſual things among the *Iſraelites.* They have too a great unkindneſs for our Swine; but I ſuppoſe that is becauſe our Hogs devour the *Clams*, which are a Dainty with them. He alſo ſaw ſome learned Men looking for the loſt *Iſraelites* among the *Indians* in *America*, and counting that they had thorow-good reaſons for doing ſo. And a few ſmall Arguments, or indeed but Conjectures, meeting with a favourable diſpoſition in the hearer, will carry ſome conviction with them;

eſpecially, if a Report of a *Menaſſeh ben Iſrael* be to back them. He ſaw likewiſe the Judgments threatned unto the *Iſraelites* of old, ſtrangely fulfilled upon our *Indians*; particularly that, *Ye ſhall eat the fleſh of your Sons*, which is done with exquiſite Cruelties upon the Priſoners that they take from one another in their Battels. Moreover, 'tis a Prophecy in *Deut.* 28 68. *The Lord ſhall bring thee into Egypt again with ſhips, by the way whereof I ſpake unto thee, Thou ſhalt ſee it no more again: and there ſhall ye be ſold unto your Enemies, and no man ſhall buy you.* This did our *Eliot* imagine accompliſhed, when the Captives taken by us in our late Wars upon them, were ſent to be ſold in the Coaſts, lying not very remote from *Egypt* on the *Mediterranean* Sea; and ſcarce any Chapmen would offer to take them off, being upon ſuch as theſe accounts not unwilling, if it were poſſible, to have the *Indians* found *Iſraelites*, they were, you may be ſure, not a whit the leſs *beloved for their* (ſuppoſed) *Fathers* ſake; and the Fatigues of his Travels went on the more chearfully, or at leaſt, the more hopefully, becauſe of ſuch poſſibilities.

The firſt ſtep which he judg'd neceſſary now to be taken by him, was to learn the *Indian* Language, for he ſaw them ſo ſtupid and ſenſleſs, that they would never do ſo much as enquire after the Religion of the ſtrangers now come into their Country, much leſs would they ſo far imitate us as to leave off their beaſtly way of living, that they might be partakers of any Spiritual advan-

advantage by us, unleſs we could firſt addreſs them in a Language of their own. Behold, new difficulties to be ſurmounted by our indefatigable *Eliot!* he hires a Native to teach him this Exotick Language, and with a laborious Care and Skill reduces it into a *Grammar*, which afterwards he publiſhed. There is a Letter or two of our Alphabet which the *Indians* never had in theirs; tho' there were enough of the Dog in their Temper, there can ſcarce be found an *R* in their Language, ſave that the *Indians* to the Northward, who have a peculiar Dialect, pronounce an *R* where an *N* is pronounced by our *Indians*; but if their Alphabet be ſhort, I am ſure the words compoſed of it are long enough to tire the Patience of any Scholar in the World, they are *Seſquipedalia Verba*, which their *Linguo* is compoſed of; one would think, they had been growing ever ſince *Babel*, unto the Dimenſions to which they are now extended. For inſtance, if my Reader will count how many Letters there are in this one word, *Nummatchekodtantamoooonganunnonaſh*, when he has done, for his reward I'll tell him, it ſignifies no more in *Engliſh* than, *our Luſts*; and if I were to tranſlate, *our Loves*, it muſt be nothing ſhorter than *Noowomantammoooonkanunonnaſh*. Nor do we find in all this Language the leaſt Affinity to, or Derivation from any *European* Speech that we are acquainted with. I know not what thoughts it will produce in my Reader, when I inform him, that once finding that the *Dæmons*

in a poſſeſſed young Woman, whereof I have heretofore given the World ſome account, underſtood the *Latin*, and *Greek*, and *Hebrew* Languages, my curioſity led me to make trial of this *Indian* Language, and the *Dæmons* did ſeem as if they did not underſtand it: This tedious Language our *Eliot* quickly became a maſter of; he employ'd a pregnant and witty *Indian*, who alſo ſpoke Engliſh well, for his aſſiſtance in it; and compiling ſome diſcourſes by his help, he would ſingle out a *Word*, a *Noun*, a *Verb*, and purſue it through all its variations: Having finiſhed his *Grammar*, at the cloſe he writes, *Prayers and Pains, through Faith in Chriſt Jeſus, will do any thing*! and being by his Prayers and Pains thus furniſhed, he ſet himſelf in the Year 1646 to preach the Goſpel of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt among theſe deſolate outcaſts.

¶ It remains that I lay before the World, the remarkable Conduct and Succeſs of this Famous Man in his great Affair; and I ſhall endeavour to do it, by Engliſhing and Reprinting a Letter, ſent a while ſince by my Father, unto his Learned and Renown'd Correſpondent, the Venerable Dr. *Leuſden* at *Utrecht*; which Letter has already been publiſhed, if I miſtake not, in four or five divers *Languages*. I find it particularly publiſhed by the moſt excellent *Jurieu*, at the end of a *Paſtoral Letter*; and this Reflection then worthily made upon it, *Cette Lettre doit opporter une tres grande Conſolation, à toutes les bonnes ames, qui ſont alterees de Juſtice, & qui ſont enflammees du*

du zele de la glorie de Dieu. I therefore perſwade my ſelf, that the Re-publication of it will not be ungrateful unto many good Souls in our Nation, who have a due thirſt and zeal for ſuch things as are mention'd in it; and when that is done, I ſhall preſume to make ſome *Annotations* for the Illuſtration of ſundry memorable things therein pointed at.

A LETTER concerning the Succeſs of the Goſpel amongſt the Indians *in* New-England.

Written by Mr. Increaſe Mather, *Miniſter of the Word of God at* Boſton, *and Rector of the College at* Cambridge *in* New England, *to Doctor* John Leuſden, *Hebrew Profeſſor in the Univerſity of* Utrecht.

Tranſlated out of *Latin* into *Engliſh.*

Worthy and much honoured Sir,

YOur Letters were very grateful to me, (*a*) by which I underſtand that you and others in your famous Univerſity of *Utrecht* deſire to be informed concerning the converted *Indians* in *America*: Take therefore a true Account of them in a few words.

It is above forty Years ſince that truly godly Man, Mr. *John Eliot*, Paſtor of the Church at *Roxborough*, (about a mile from *Boſton* in *New-England*) being warmed with a holy Zeal of Converting the *Americans*, ſet himſelf to learn

the *Indian* Tongue, that he might more eaſily and ſucceſsfully (*b*) open to them the Myſteries of the Goſpel; upon account of which he has been (and not undeſervedly) called, *The Apoſtle of the American Indians.* This Reverend Perſon, not without very great labour, tranſlated the whole Bible into the *Indian* Tongue; (*c*) he tranſlated alſo ſeveral *Engliſh* Treatiſes of Practical Divinity and Catechiſms into their Language. Above 26 Years ago he gathered a Church of converted *Indians* in a Town called (*d*) *Natick*; theſe *Indians* confeſs'd their ſins with Tears, and profeſſed their Faith in Chriſt, and afterwards they and their Children were Baptized, and they were ſolemnly joyned together in a *Church-Covenant*; the ſaid Mr. *Eliot* was the firſt that adminiſtred the Lord's Supper to them. The Paſtor of that Church now is an *Indian*, his name is *Daniel*. Beſides this Church at *Natick*, among our Inhabitants in the *Maſſachuſets* Colony, there are four *Indian* Aſſemblies, (*e*) where the Name of the True God and Jeſus Chriſt is ſolemnly called upon; theſe Aſſemblies have ſome *American* Preachers. Mr. *Eliot* formerly uſed to Preach to them once every fortnight, but now he is weakned with Labours and old Age, being in the Eighty fourth Year of his Age, and Preacheth not to the *Indians* oftner than once in two Months.

There is another Church, conſiſting only of converted *Indians*, about fifty Miles from hence, in an *Indian* Town called *Maſhippaug*: the firſt Paſtor of that Church was an *Engliſh* Man, who being

being skilful in the *American* Language, Preached the Goſpel to them in their own Tongue. (*f*) This *Engliſh* Paſtor is dead, and inſtead of him that Church has an *Indian* Preacher.

There are, beſides that, five Aſſemblies of *Indians* profeſſing the Name of *Chriſt*, not far diſtant from *Maſhippaug*, which have *Indian* Preachers; (*g*) *John Cotton*, Paſtor of the Church at *Plymouth* (Son of my venerable Father-in-law *John Cotton*, formerly the famous Teacher of the Church at *Boſton*) hath made very great progreſs in learning the *Indian* Tongue, and is very skilful in it; he Preaches in their own Language to the laſt five mentioned Congregations every Week. Moreover of the Inhabitants of *Saconet* in *Plymouth* Colony, there is a great Congregation of thoſe who for diſtinction ſake are called *Praying Indians*, becauſe they Pray to God in Chriſt.

Not far from a Promontory called *Cape-Cod*, there are ſix Aſſemblies of *Heathens* who are to be reckoned as *Catechumens*, amongſt whom there are ſix *Indian* Preachers, *Samuel Treat*, Paſtor of a Church at *Eaſtham*, Preacheth to thoſe Congregations in their own Language. There are likewiſe amongſt the Iſlanders of *Nantucket* a Church, with a Paſtor who was lately a *Heathen*, and ſeveral *Meetings* of *Catechumens*, who are inſtructed by the converted *Indians*. There is alſo another Iſland about ſeven Leagues long (called *Martha's Vineyard*) where are two *American* Churches planted, which are more famous than the reſt, over one of which there preſides an ancient *Indian*

as Paſtor, called *Hiacooms*: *John Hiacooms*, Son of the ſaid *Indian* Paſtor, alſo Preacheth the Goſpel to his Country-men. In another Church in that place, *John Tockinoſh* a converted *Indian* teaches. In theſe Churches *ruling Elders* of the *Indians* are joyned to the Paſtors: The Paſtors were choſen by the People, and when they had faſted and prayed, Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* laid their Hands on them, ſo that they were ſolemnly Ordained. All the Congregations (*h*) of the converted *Indians* (both the *Catechumens* and thoſe in Church-Order) every Lord's-Day meet together; the Paſtor or Preacher always begins with Prayer, and *without a Form, becauſe from the Heart*; when the Ruler of the Aſſembly has ended Prayer, the whole Congregation of *Indians* Praiſe God with ſinging, ſome of them are excellent ſingers: After the *Pſalm*, he that Preaches reads a place of Scripture (one or more *Verſes* as he will) and expounds it, gathers Doctrines from it, proves them by *Scriptures* and *Reaſons*, and infers uſes from them after the manner of the *Engliſh*, of whom they have been taught; then another Prayer to God in the Name of Chriſt concludes the whole Service. Thus do they meet together twice every Lord's-Day. They obſerve no Holy-days but the Lord's-Day, except upon ſome extraordinary occaſion; and then they ſolemnly ſet apart whole Days, either in giving Thanks, or Faſting and Praying with great fervour of mind.

Before the *Engliſh* came into theſe Coaſts, theſe barbarous Nations were altogether ignorant of the

the true God; hence it is that in their Prayers and Sermons they uſe *Engliſh* words and terms; he that calls upon the moſt Holy Name of God, ſays *Jehovah*, or *God*, or *Lord*; and alſo they have learned and borrowed many other Theological Phraſes from us.

In ſhort, there are ſix Churches of Baptized *Indians* in *New England*, and eighteen Aſſemblies of *Catechumens*, profeſſing the Name of Chriſt: Of the *Indians* there are four and twenty who are Preachers of the Word of God; and beſides theſe, there are four *Engliſh* Miniſters who preach the Goſpel in the *Indian* Tongue. *(i)* I am now my ſelf weary with writing, and I fear leſt if I ſhould add more, I ſhould alſo be tedious to you; yet one thing I muſt add (which I had almoſt forgot) that there are many of the *Indians* Children who have learned by Heart the Catechiſm, either of that famous Divine *William Perkins*, or that put forth by the Aſſembly of Divines at *Weſtminſter*, and in their own Mother Tongue can anſwer to all the Queſtions in it.

But I muſt end: I ſalute the *famous Profeſſors* in your Univerſity, to whom I deſire you to communicate this Letter, as written to them alſo.

Farewel, *Worthy Sir*; the Lord preſerve your Health for the Benefit of your Country, his Church, and of Learning.

Boſton in *New-Engl.*
July 12. 1687.

Yours ever,
Increaſe Mather.

(a) *The*

(a) *The Succeſs of the Goſpel in the* EAST-INDIES.

AFter the writing of *this* Letter, there came *one* to my Hands from the famous Dr. *Leuſden*, together with a new and fair Edition of his *Hebrew Pſalter*, Dedicated unto the Name of my abſent Parent. He therein informs me, That our Example had awakened the *Dutch* to make ſome noble Attempts for the furtherance of the Goſpel in the *Eaſt-Indies*; beſides what memorable things were done by the Excellent *Robert Junius*, in *Formoſa*, fifty years ago. He alſo informs me, That in and near the Iſland of *Ceylon*, the *Dutch* Paſtors have Baptiſed about three hundred Thouſand of the *Eaſtern Indians*; for altho' the Miniſters are utterly ignorant of their Language, yet here are *School-Maſters* who teach them, The *Lords-Prayer*, the *Creed*, the *Ten Commandments*, a *Morning Prayer*, an *Evening Prayer*, a *Bleſſing* before Meat, and *another after*; and the Miniſter in his Viſits being aſſured by the Maſter, who of them has learn'd all of them *ſeven* things, he thereupon counts they have ſuch a *perfect number* of Attainments, that he preſently *Baptizes* them. The pious Reader will doubtleſs bleſs God for *this*; but he will eaſily ſee that *one* of our Converted Indians has coſt more pains than many of thoſe; more *thorough work* has been made with them.

(b)

(b) *Mr.* Eliot's *way of opening the Myſteries of the Goſpel to our* Indians.

'Twas in the year 1646. that Mr. *Eliot* accompany'd by three more, gave a viſit unto an Aſſembly of *Indians*, of whom he deſired a Meeting at ſuch a time and place, that he might lay before them the things of their Eternal Peace. After a ſerious *Prayer*, he gave them a *Sermon* which continued about a quarter above an hour, and contained the principal Articles of the Chriſtian Religion, applying all to the condition of the *Indians* preſent. Having done, he asked of them, whether *they underſtood*? and with a general reply they anſwered, *They underſtood all.* He then began what was his uſual method afterwards in treating with them; that is, he cauſed them to propound ſuch *queſtions* as they pleas'd, unto himſelf; and he gave wiſe and good *anſwers* to them all. Their *Queſtions* would often, tho' not always, refer to what he had newly Preached; and he this way not only made a *Proof* of their profiting by his Miniſtry, but alſo gave an *Edge* to what he delivered unto them. Some of their *Queſtions* would be a little *Philoſophical*, and required a good meaſure of Learning in the Miniſter concerned with them; but for this our *Eliot* wanted not. He would alſo put proper *Queſtions* unto them, and at one of his firſt Exercises with them, he made the young ones capable of regarding theſe three Queſtions.

Q.

Q. 1. *Who made you and all the world?*

Q. 2. *Who do you look ſhould ſave you from Sin and Hell?*

Q. 3. *How many Commandments has the Lord given you to keep?*

It was his wiſdom that he began with them upon ſuch principles, as they themſelves had already ſome notion of; ſuch as that of an *Heaven* for good, and *Hell* for bad people, when they *Dy'd.* It broke his gracious heart within him to ſee, what Floods of Tears fell from the Eyes of ſeveral among theſe Degenerate Salvages, at the firſt Addreſſes which he made unto them; yea, from the very worſt of them all. He was very inquiſitive to learn who were the *Powaws*, that is, the *Sorcerers* and *Seducers*, that maintained the Worſhip of the Devil in any of their Societies; and having in one of his Firſt Journies to them, found out one of thoſe Wretches, he made the Indian come unto him and ſaid, *Whether do you ſuppoſe* God, *or* Chepian (*i. e. the Devil*) *to be the Author of all good?* The Conjurer anſwered, *God.* Upon this he added with a ſtern Countenance, *Why do you pray to* Chepian *then?* and the poor man was not able to ſtand or ſpeak before him; but at laſt made promiſes of Reformation.

The Text which he firſt Preach'd upon, was that in Ezek. 37. 9, 10. *That by propheſying to the Wind, the Wind came, and the dry bones lived*; and it was an obſervation made by one, who then juſtly confeſſed, there was *not much weight* in it; that the word which the Indians uſe for

for *Wind*, is *Wauban*, and an Indian of that Name was one of the firſt that here zealouſly promoted the Converſion of his Neighbours. But having thus entred upon the *Teaching* of theſe poor Creatures, it's incredible how much time, toyl, and hardſhip, he underwent in the Proſecution of this Undertaking; how many weary days and nights rolled over him; how many tireſome Journies he endured; and how many terrible dangers he had experience of. If you briefly would know *what* he felt, and *what* carried him through all, take it in his own words, in a Letter to the Honourable Mr. *Winſlow*; ſays he, *I have not been dry night nor day, from the third day of the week unto the ſixth, but ſo Travelled, and at night pull of my Boots, wring my Stockings, and on with them again, and ſo continue. But God ſteps in and helps. I have conſidered the word of God in* 2 Tim. 2 3. Endure hardſhip as a good Souldier of Chriſt.

(c) *His Tranſlating the Bible, and other Books of Piety into the* Indian Tongue.

ONe of his Remarkable Cares for theſe illiterate Indians, was to bring them into the uſe of *Schools* and *Books*. He quickly procured the benefit of *Schools* for them; wherein they profited ſo much, that not only very many of them quickly came to *Read* and *Write*, but alſo ſeveral arrived unto a Liberal Education in our Colledge, and one or two of them took their degree

degree with the reſt of our *Graduates*. And for Books, 'twas his chief deſire that the ſacred Scriptures might not in an unknown Tongue be locked or hidden from them; very hateful and helliſh did the policy of Popery appear to him on this account: Our *Eliot* was very unlike to that Franciſcan, who writing into *Europe*, gloried much how many thouſands of *Indians* he had converted; but added, *That he deſired his Friend would ſend him the Book called the* Bible; *for he had heard of there being ſuch a Book in* Europe, *which might be of ſome uſe to him.* No, our *Eliot* found he could not live without a Bible himſelf; he would have parted with all his Eſtate ſooner than have loſt a Leaf of it; and he knew it would be of more than ſome uſe unto the *Indians* too; he therefore with a vaſt labour tranſlated the Holy Bible into the *Indian* Language. Behold, ye *Americans*, the greateſt honour that ever you were partakers of! This Bible was printed here at our *Cambridge*; and it is the only Bible that ever was printed in all *America*, from the very foundation of the World. The whole Tranſlation he writ with but one Pen; which Pen, had it not been loſt, would have certainly deſerved a richer Caſe than was beſtow'd upon that Pen which *Halland* writ his Tranſlation of *Plutarch* with. The Bible being juſtly made the Leader of all the reſt, a little *Indian* Library quickly followed; for beſides Primers, and Grammars, and ſome other ſuch Compoſures, we quickly had *The Practice of Piety* in the *Indian* Tongue; and the Reverend *Richard Baxter's Call*

to the Unconverted; he alſo tranſlated ſome of Mr. *Shepherd's* Compoſures; and ſuch *Catechiſms* likewiſe as there was occaſion for. It cannot but be hoped that ſome Fiſh were to be made alive, ſince the Waters of the Sanctuary thus came unto them.

(d) *His gathering of a Church at* Natick.

THE *Indians* that had felt the Impreſſions of his Miniſtry, were quickly diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Praying-Indians*; and theſe *Praying-Indians* as quickly were for a more decent, and *Engliſh* way of living, and they deſired a more fixed Cohabitation. At ſeveral Places did they now combine and ſettle; But the place of greateſt name among their Towns, is that of *Natick*.

Here 'twas, that in the year 1651. thoſe that had heretofore lived like the wild Beaſts in the Wilderneſs, now compacted themſelves into a Town; and they firſt apply'd themſelves to the forming of their Civil Government. Our General Court, notwithſtanding their exact ſtudy to keep theſe *Indians* very ſenſible of their being ſubject unto the *Engliſh* Empire, yet had allowed them their ſmaller Courts, wherein they might govern their own ſmaller Caſes and Concerns after their own particular modes, and might have their Town-Orders, if I may call them ſo, peculiar to themſelves. With reſpect hereunto, Mr. *Eliot* on a Solemn Faſt made a publick Vow, *That ſeeing theſe* Indians *were not prepoſſeſſed with any*

any Forms of Government, he would inſtruct them into ſuch a Form as we had written in the Word of God, that ſo they might be a People in all things ruled by the Lord. Accordingly, he expounded unto them the Eighteenth Chapter of *Exodus*; and then they choſe Rulers of Hundreds, of Fifties, of Tens; and therewithal entred into this Covenant.

'We are the Sons of *Adam*; We and our 'Forefathers have a long time been loſt in our 'ſins; but now the mercy of the Lord beginneth 'to find us out again; therefore the Grace of 'Chriſt helping us, we do give our ſelves and 'our Children unto God, to be his People. He 'ſhall rule us in all our Affairs; The Lord is our 'Judge, the Lord is our Law-giver, the Lord 'is our King; he will ſave us; and the wiſdom 'which God has taught us in his Book ſhall guide 'us. Oh Jehovah! Teach us wiſdom; ſend thy 'Spirit into our hearts; take us to be thy Peo-'ple, and let us take thee to be our God.

Such an opinion about the perfection of the Scripture had he, that he thus expreſſed himſelf upon this occaſion; *God will bring Nations into diſtreſs and perplexity, that ſo they may be forced unto the Scriptures; all Governments will be ſhaken, that men may be forced at length to pitch upon that firm foundation,* The Word of God.

The Little Towns of theſe *Indians* being pitched upon this Foundation, they utterly abandoned that Polygamy which had heretofore been common among them; they made ſevere Laws againſt Fornication, Drunkenneſs, and Sabbath-breaking,

breaking, and other Immoralities; and they next began to lament after the eſtabliſhment of a Church-order among them, and after the ſeveral Ordinances and Privileges of a Church-Communion. The Churches of *New-England* have uſually been very ſtrict in their Admiſſions to Church-Fellowſhip, and required very ſignal demonſtrations of a Repenting and a Believing Soul, before they thought men fit Subjects to be entruſted with *the Rights of the Kingdom of Heaven.* But they ſeem'd rather to augment than abate their uſual Strictneſs, when the examination of the *Indians* was to be performed. A day was therefore ſet apart, which they called *Natootomuhtenicuſuk*, or, a *Day of Asking Queſtions*, when the Miniſters of the adjacent Churches, aſſiſted with all the beſt Interpreters that could be had, publickly examined a good number of theſe *Indians*, about their Attainments both in Knowledge and in Vertue. And notwithſtanding the great ſatisfaction then received, our Churches being willing to proceed ſurely, and therefore ſlowly, in raiſing them up to a Church-ſtate, which might be comprehended in our Conſociations, the *Indians* were afterwards called in Conſiderable Aſſemblies convened for that purpoſe, to make open Confeſſion of their Faith in God and Chriſt, and of the Efficacy which his word had upon them for their converſion to Him; which Confeſſions being taken in writing from their mouths by able Interpreters, were ſcanned by the People of God, and found much acceptance with them.

I need pass no further censure upon them, than what is given by my Grandfather, the well-known *Richard Mather*, in an Epistle of his, published on this occasion; says he, 'There is so 'much of God's work among them, as that I 'cannot but count it a great evil, yea a great in-'jury to God and His Goodness, for any to make 'light of it. To see and hear *Indians* opening 'their mouths, and lifting up their hands and 'eyes in prayer to the Living God, calling on 'him by his Name *Jehovah*, in the Mediation of 'Jesus Christ, and this for a good while together; 'to see and hear them exhorting one another 'from the Word of God; to see and hear them 'confessing the Name of Christ Jesus, and their 'own sinfulness; sure this is more than usual! And 'tho they spoke in a Language, of which many 'of us understood but little, yet we that were pre-'sent that day, we saw and heard them perform 'the Duties mentioned with such grave and sober 'Countenances, with such comely reverence in 'their gesture, and their whole carriage, and 'with such plenty of Tears trickling down the 'Cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us that 'they spake with the holy Fear of God, and it 'much affected our hearts.

At length was a Church-state setled among them: they entred, as our Churches do, into an holy Covenant, wherein they *gave themselves, first unto the Lord, and then unto one another*, to attend the Rules, and Helps, and expect the Blessings of the Everlasting Gospel; and Mr. *Eliot*, having

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a Miſſion from the Church of *Roxbury* unto the work of the Lord Chriſt among the *Indians*, conceived himſelf ſufficiently authorized unto the performing of all Church-work about them; grounding it on *Acts* 13. 1, 2, 3, 4. and he accordingly adminiſtred, firſt the Baptiſm, and then the Supper of the Lord unto them.

(e) *The Hindrances and Obſtructions that the Devil gave unto him.*

WE find four Aſſemblies of Praying *Indians* beſides that of *Natick*, in our Neighbourhood. But why no more? Truly, not becauſe our *Eliot* was wanting in his Offers and Labours for their good; but becauſe many of the obdurate Infidels would not receive the *Goſpel of Salvation*. In one of his Letters, I find him giving this ill report, with ſuch a good reaſon for it; Lyn-*Indians are all naught ſave one, who ſometimes comes to hear the Word; and the reaſon why they are bad, is, principally becauſe their* Sachim *is naught, and careth not to pray unto God.* Indeed the *Sachims*, or the *Princes* of the *Indians*, generally did all they could that their Subjects might not entertain the Goſpel; the *Devils* having the *Sachims* on their ſide, thereby kept their poſſeſſion of the people too. Their *Pauwaws* or Clergy-men, did much to maintain the Intereſt of the *Devils* in this Wilderneſs; thoſe *Children of the Devil, and Enemies of all Righteouſneſs*, did not *ceaſe to pervert the Right ways of the Lord*; but their *Sachims* or Magiſtrates

did more towards it; for they would presently Raise a Storm of Persecution upon any of their vassals that should Pray unto the Eternal God. The ground of this conduct in them, was, an odd Fear, that Religion would abridge them of the Tyranny which they had been us'd unto; they always, like the Devil, held their people in a most absolute servitude, and Rul'd by no Law, but by their Will, which left the poor Slaves nothing that they could call their own. They now suspected that Religion would put a Bridle upon such usurpations, and oblige them to a more Equal and Humane way of Government; they therefore, some of them, had the Impudence to Address the *English*, that no motions about the Christian Religion might ever be made unto them; and Mr. *Eliot* sometimes in the Wilderness, without the Company or Assistance of any other *Englishman*, has been treated in a very Threatning and Barbarous manner by some of these Tyrants; but God inspir'd him with so much Resolution as to tell them, *I am about the work of the Great God, and my God is with me; so that I fear neither you, nor all the* Sachims *in the Country; I'll go on, and do you Touch me if you dare!* upon which the Stoutest of them have shrunk and fell before him. And one of them, he at length Conquered by Preaching unto him a Sermon upon the *Temptations* of our Lord; particularly, the *Temptations* fetch'd from the *Kingdoms* and *Glories* of the World.

The little Kingdoms and Glories of the Great

Men

Men among the *Indians*, was a Powerful Obſtacle to the ſucceſs of Mr. *Eliot*'s Miniſtry; and it is obſervable, that ſeveral of thoſe Nations which thus refuſed the Goſpel, quickly afterwards were ſo *Divel-driven* as to begin an unjuſt and bloody War upon the *Engliſh*, which iſſued in their ſpeedy and utter Extirpation from the Face of Gods Earth. It was particularly Remark'd, in *Philip*, the Ring-leader of the moſt calamitous War that ever they made upon us; our *Eliot* made a Tender of the Everlaſting Salvation to that King; but that *Philip* entertained it with contempt and anger, and after the *Indian* mode of joining ſigns with words, he took a Button upon the Coat of the Reverend Man, adding, *That he cared for his Goſpel, juſt as much as he cared for that Button.* The World has heard what a Terrible Ruine ſoon came upon that woful Creature, and upon all his people. It was not long before the Hand which now Writes, upon a certain occaſion took off the Jaw from the Blaſphemous expoſed Skull of that *Leviathan*; and the Renowned *Samuel Lee* is now Paſtor to an *Engliſh* Congregation, ſounding and ſhowing the Praiſes of Heaven, upon that very ſpot of ground, where *Philip* and his *Indians* were lately Worſhipping of the Devil.

Sometimes the more immediate Hand of God, by cutting off the Principal Oppoſers of the Goſpel among the *Indians*, made way for Mr. *Eliot*'s Miniſtry. As I remember, he relates that an Aſſociation of profane *Indians* near our *Wey-*

mouth, ſet themſelves to deter and ſeduce the Neighbour *Indians* from the *Right ways of the Lord*. But God quickly ſent the *Small Pox* among them, which like a great Plague ſoon ſwept them away, and thereby engaged the reſt unto himſelf. I need only to add, That one attempt made by the Devil, to prejudice the Pagans againſt the Goſpel, had ſomething in it extraordinary. While Mr. *Eliot* was Preaching of Chriſt unto the other *Indians*, a *Damon* appeared unto a Prince of the *Eaſtern-Indians*, in a ſhape that had ſome Reſemblance of Mr. *Eliot*, or of an *Engliſh* Miniſter, pretending to be, *The Engliſh-man's God*. The Spectre commanded him, *To forbear the drinking of Rum*, and *to obſerve the Sabbath-day*, and *to deal juſtly with his Neighbours*; all which things had been inculcated in Mr. *Eliot*'s Miniſtry; promiſing therewithal unto him, That if he did ſo, at his death his Soul ſhould aſcend unto a happy place; otherwiſe deſcend unto miſeries; but the Apparition all the while, never ſaid one word about Chriſt, which was the main ſubject of Mr. *Eliot*'s Miniſtry. The *Sachim* received ſuch an impreſſion from the Apparition, that he dealt juſtly with all men, except in the bloody Tragedies and Cruelties he afterwards committed on the *Engliſh* in our Wars; he kept the Sabbath-day like a Faſt, frequently attending in our Congregations; he would not meddle with any *Rum*, tho' uſually his Country-men had rather dye than undergo ſuch a piece of Self-denial; that Liquor has meerly Enchantd them. At laſt, and not

not long ſince, this *Dæmon* appear'd again unto this *Pagan*, requiring him to kill himſelf, and aſſuring him that he ſhould Revive in a day or two, never to dye any more. He thereupon divers times attempted it, but his Friends very carefully prevented it; however at length he found a fair opportunity, for this fowl Buſineſs, and Hanged himſelf; you may be ſure, without his expected *Reſurrection*. But it is eaſy to ſee what a ſtumbling-block was here laid before the miſerable *Indians*.

(f) *The* Indian-*Churches at* Maſhippaug, *and elſewhere.*

THE ſame ſpirit which acted Mr. *Eliot*, quickly inſpired others elſewhere, to proſecute the work of reſcuing the poor *Indians* out of their worſe than *Egyptian*-Darkneſs, in which Evil Angels had been ſo long preying upon them. One of theſe was the Godly and Gracious *Richard Bourn*, who ſoon ſaw a great effect of his Holy Labours. In the Year 1666. Mr. *Eliot* accompany'd by the Honourable Governour, and ſeveral Magiſtrates and Miniſters of *Plymouth*-Colony, procured a vaſt Aſſembly at *Maſhippang*; and there a good number of *Indians* made confeſſions touching the *knowledge* and *belief*, and *Regeneration* of their Souls, with ſuch underſtanding and affection as was extreamly grateful to the pious Auditory. Yet ſuch was the ſtrictneſs of the good people in this Affair, that before they would countenance the advancement of *theſe Indians* unto *Church-Fellowſhip*, they ordered

their Confeſſions to be written and ſent unto all the Churches in the Colony for their Approbation; but ſo approv'd they were, that afterwards the Meſſengers of all the Churches giving their preſence and conſent, they became a Church, and choſe Mr. *Bourn* to be their Paſtor; who was then by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* Ordain'd unto that Office over them. From hence Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* went over to an Iſland called *Martha's Vineyard*, where God had ſo ſucceeded the honeſt Labours of ſome, and particularly of the *Mayhew's*, as that a Church was gathered.

This Church, after *Faſting and Prayer*, choſe one *Hiacooms* to be their Paſtor, *John Tockinoſh*, an able and a diſcreet *Chriſtian* to be their Teacher; *Joſhua Mummeechegs* and *John Nanaſo* to be ruling Elders; and theſe were then Ordained by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Cotton* thereunto. Diſtance of Habitation cauſed this one Church by mutual agreement afterwards to become two; the Paſtor and one Ruling-Elder taking one part, and the Teacher and one Ruling Elder another; and at *Nantucket*, another adjacent Iſland, was another Church of *Indians* quickly gathered, who choſe an *Indian*, *John Gibs*, to be their Miniſter. Theſe Churches are ſo exact in their Admiſſion, and ſo ſolemn in their Diſcipline, and ſo ſerious in their Communion, that ſome of the *Chriſtian Engliſh* in the Neighbourhood, which would have been loth to have mixed with them in a *civil Relation*, yet have gladly done it in a *ſacred One*.

'Tis

'Tis needleſs for me to repeat what my Father has written about the other *Indian* Congregations; only there having been made mention of one *Hiacooms*, I am willing to annex a paſſage or two concerning that memorable *Indian*. That *Indian* was a very great Inſtrument of bringing his *Pagan* and wretched Neighbours, to a ſaving acquaintance with our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and God gave him the honour, not only of ſo *doing* much for ſome, but alſo of *ſuffering* much from others, of thoſe unhappy Savages. Once particularly, this *Hiacooms* received a cruel blow from an *Indian* Prince, which, if ſome Engliſh had not been there, might have killed him, for his Praying unto God. And afterwards he gave this account of his Trial in it; ſaid he, *I have two hands; I had one hand for Injuries, and the other for God; while I did receive wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God.*

Moreover, the *Powaws* did uſe to hector and abuſe the *Praying Indians* at ſuch a rate, as terriſi'd others *from joyning* with them; but once when thoſe Witches were bragging that they could kill all the *Praying Indians* if they would; *Hiacooms* repli'd, *Let all the* Powaws *in the Iſland come together, I'll venture my ſelf in the midſt of them; let them uſe all their Witchcrafts, with the help of God I'll tread upon them all.* By this courage he ſilenced the *Powaws*; but at the ſame time alſo he heartned the People, at ſuch a rate as was truly wonderful; nor could any of them

eve

ever harm this eminent Confeſſor afterwards; nor indeed any *Proſelite* which had been by his means brought home to God; yea, 'twas obſerved after this, that they rather kill'd than cur'd all ſuch of the Heathen as would yet make uſe of their Enchantments for help againſt their Sickneſſes.

(g) *Of Mr.* Eliot's *Fellow-labourers in the* Indain work.

SO little was the Soul of our *Eliot* infected with any Envy, as that he long'd for nothing more than Fellow-labourers, that might move and ſhine in the ſame Orb with himſelf; he made his cries both to God and Man, for more Labourers to be thruſt forth into the *Indian* Harveſt; and indeed it was an Harveſt of ſo few ſecular Advantages and Encouragements, that it muſt be nothing leſs than a Divine thruſt, which could make any to labour in it. He ſaw the anſwer of his Prayers, in the generous and vigorous Attempts made by ſeveral other moſt worthy Preachers of the Goſpel, to Goſpelize our periſhing Indians. At the writing of my Father's Letter there were four; but the Number of them increaſes apace among us. At *Martha's Vineyard*, the old Mr. *Mayhew*, and ſeveral of his Sons, or Grand-ſons, have done very worthily for the Souls of the Indians; there were fifteen years ago, by computation, about fifteen hundred Seals of their Miniſtry upon that one

Iſland.

ſland. In *Connecticut*, the holy and acute Mr. *Fitch*, has made noble Eſſays towards the Converſion of the Indians; but, I think, the Prince he has to deal withal, being an obſtinate Infidel, gives unhappy Remora's to the Succeſſes of his Miniſtry. And godly Mr. *Pierſon* has in that Colony deſerved well, if I miſtake not, upon the ſame account. In *Maſſachuſets* we ſee at this day, the pious Mr. *Daniel Gookin*, the gracious Mr. *Peter Thatcher*, the well-accompliſhed and induſtrious Mr. *Grindal Rawſon*, all of them hard at work, to turn theſe poor Creatures *from Darkneſs unto Light, and from Satan unto God.* In *Plymouth* we have the moſt active Mr. *Samuel Treat*, laying out himſelf to ſave this Generation; and there is one Mr. *Tupper*, who uſes his laudable Endeavours for the Inſtruction of them.

'Tis my Relation to him, that cauſes me to defer unto the laſt place, the mention of Mr. *John Cotton*, who addreſſes the Indians in their own Language with an admirable dexterity, and has done more than a little Service for them. He hired an Indian, after the rate of twelve Pence *per* day for fifty days, to teach him the Indian Tongue; but his knaviſh Tutor having received his whole pay too ſoon, ran away before twenty days were out; however, in this time he had profited ſo far, that he could quickly Preach unto the Natives; and he has ever ſince been doing much for God among them. Having told my Reader, that the Second

cond Edition of the Indian Bible was wholly of his Correction and Amendment; becauſe it is not proper for me to ſay much of him, I ſhall only add this remarkable Story: Mr. *Cotton*, accompani'd by the Governor and Major-General, and ſundry Perſons of Quality, made a Journey to a Nation of Indians in the Neighbourhood, with a free *offer of the Words whereby they might be ſaved.* The Prince took time to conſider of it, and according to the true *Engliſh* of taking time in ſuch caſes, at length he told them, *He did not accept the Tender which they made him.* They then took their leaves of him, not without firſt giving him this plain and ſhort Admonition, *If God have any Mercy for your miſerable People, he will quickly find a way to take you out of the way.* 'Twas preſently after this, that this Prince going forth to a Battel againſt another Nation of Indians, was killed in the Fight; and the young Prince being in his Minority, the Government fell into the Hands of Protectors, which favoured the Intereſt of the Goſpel. Mr. *Cotton* being adviſed of it, ſpeedily and proſperouſly renewed the Tidings of an Eternal Saviour to the Salvages, who have ever ſince attended upon his Miniſtry; and the young *achim*, after he came to Age, expreſſed his Approbation of the Chriſtian Religion; eſpecially, when a while ſince he lay a dying of a tedious Diſtemper, and would keep reading of Mr. *Baxter's Call to the Unconverted*, with floods of Tears in his Eyes, while he had any ſtrength to do it.

Such

Such as theſe are the Perſons whom our *Eliot* left Engag'd in the Indian-work, when he departed from his Employment, unto his Recompence. And theſe Gentlemen are ſo indefatigable in their Labours among the Indians, as that the moſt equal Judges muſt acknowledge them worthy of much greater Salaries than they are generouſly contented with. But one may ſee then who inſpired that clamorous (tho' contemptible and blaſted) Perſecutor of this Country, who very zealouſly Addreſſed the late A. B. of *Canterbury*, that theſe Miniſters might be deprived of their little Stipends, and that the ſaid Stipends might go to maintain that way of Worſhip among us, which the Plantation was erected on purpoſe for the peaceable avoiding of.

(h) *The ſacred and ſolemn Exerciſes performed in the* Indian *Congregations.*

MY Father's account of the Exerciſes performed in the Indian Congregations, will tell us what a bleſſed Fruit our *Eliot* ſaw of his Labours, before he went unto thoſe Rewards which God had reſerv'd in the Heavens for him. Some of the Indians quickly built for themſelves good and large Meeting-houſes, after the *Engliſh* mode, in which alſo after the *Engliſh* mode they attended the *things of the Kingdom of Heaven.* And ſome of the *Engliſh* were helpful to them upon this account; among whom I ought particularly to mention that Learned, Pious and Charitable

ritable Gentleman, the worſhipful *Samuel Sewal* Eſq, who at his own Charge built a Meeting-houſe for one of the Indian Cangregations, and gave thoſe Indians cauſe to pray for him under that Character, *He loveth our Nation, for he hath built us a Synagogue.*

It only remains that I give a touch or two upon the Worſhip which is attended in the Synagogue of the Indians. And firſt, the very Name of *Praying Indians* will aſſure us, that Prayer is one of their Devotions; be ſure they could not be our *Eliot*'s Diſciples if it were not ſo. But how do they pray? we are told it is *without a form, becauſe from the Heart*; which is, as I remember, *Tertullian*'s Expreſſion concerning the Prayers in the Aſſemblies of the Primitive Chriſtians; namely, *ſine monitore quia de pectore.* It is evident, that the Primitive Chriſtians had no ſtated *Liturgies* among them; that no *Forms of Prayers* were in their times impoſed upon the Miniſters of the Goſpel; that even about the platform of *Prayer* given us by our Lord, it was the opinion of *Auguſtin* himſelf, notwithſtanding the advances made in his age towards what we count *Superſtitious*, *that our Lord therein taught not what words we ſhould uſe in Prayer, but what things we ſhould pray for.* And whatever ſcoffs the profanity of our days has abuſed that *Phraſe* and *thing* withal, *Gregory Nazianzen* in his days counted it the honour of his Father's publick Prayers *that he had them from, and made them by the Holy Spirit.* Our Indians accordingly find, that if they

they ſtudy the words of God, and their own ſins, and wants, and woes, they ſhall ſoon come to that attainment, *Behold they pray!* They can pray with much pertinence and enlargement; and would much wonder at it, if they ſhould hear of an *Engliſh Clergy* that ſhould *read their Prayers out of a Book*, when they ſhould *pour out their Souls* before the God of Heaven.

Their *Preaching* has much of *Eliot*, and therefore you may be ſure much of *Scripture*; but perhaps more of the Chriſtian than of the Scholar in it. I know not how to deſcribe it better, than by reciting the heads of a Sermon, uttered by an Indian, on a *Day of Humiliation* kept by them, at a time when great Rains had given much Damage to their Fruits and Fields; 'Twas on this wiſe: *A little I ſhall ſay, according to that little I know.*

Gen. 8. 20, 21.

And Noah *built an altar unto Jehovah; and he took of every clean beaſt, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar. And the Lord ſmelled a ſweet ſavour, and the Lord ſaid in his heart, I will not again Curſe the ground.*

'In that *Noah* ſacrificed, he ſhow'd himſelf 'thankful; in that *Noah* worſhipped, he ſhewed 'himſelf godly. In that he offered clean Beaſts, 'he ſhow'd that God is an Holy God. And 'all that come to God muſt be pure and clean. 'Know, that we muſt by Repentance purge

'our

'our ſelves; which is the work we are to do 'this Day.

'*Noah* ſacrificed, and ſo worſhipped. This 'was the manner of old time. But what Sacri-'fices have we now to offer? I ſhall anſwer by 'that in *Pſal.* 4. 5. *Offer to God the ſacrifice of 'Righteouſneſs, and put your truſt in the Lord.* 'Theſe are the true Spiritual Sacrifices, which 'God requireth at our hands; the *Sacrifices of 'Righteouſneſs*; that is, we muſt look to our 'hearts and ways, that they be *Righteous*; and 'then we ſhall be acceptable to God when we 'worſhip him. But if we be unrighteous, unho-'ly, ungodly, we ſhall not be accepted, our Sa-'crifices will be ſtark naught. Again, we are '*to put our truſt in the Lord.* Who elſe is there 'for us to truſt in? We muſt believe in the 'Word of God; if we doubt of God, or doubt 'of his Word, our Sacrifices are little worth; 'but if we truſt ſtedfaſtly in God, our Sacrifices 'will be good.

'Once more, what Sacrifices muſt we offer? 'My anſwer is, we muſt offer ſuch as *Abraham* 'offered. And what a Sacrifice was that? we 'are told in *Gen.* 22. 12. *Now I know that thou 'feareſt me, ſeeing thou haſt not withheld thy ſon, 'thy only ſon from me.* It ſeems he had but one 'dearly beloved Son, and he offered that Son to 'God; and ſo God ſaid, *I know thou feareſt me!* 'Behold, a Sacrifice indeed and in truth! ſuch 'an one muſt we offer. Only, God requires not 'us to Sacrifice our Sons, but our Sins; our

deareſt

'dearest Sins. God calls us this day to part 'with all our Sins, tho' never so beloved; and 'we must not with-hold any of them from him. 'If we will not part with all, the Sacrifice is not 'right. Let us part with such Sins as we love 'best, and it will be a good Sacrifice!

'*God smelt a sweet savour in* Noah's *Sacrifice*; 'and so will God receive our Sacrifices, when 'we worship him aright. But how did God 'manifest his acceptance of *Noah*'s Offering? 'twas by promising to drown the World no 'more, but give us fruitful Seasons. God has 'chastised us of late, as if he would utterly 'drown us; and he has drowned, and spoiled, 'and ruin'd a great deal of our Hay, and threa-'tens to kill our Cattel. 'Tis for this that we 'Fast and Pray this Day. Let us then offer a 'clean and pure Sacrifice, as *Noah* did; so God 'will smell a savour of Rest, and he will with-'hold the Rain, and bless us with such Fruitful 'Seasons as we are desiring of him.

Thus preached an Indian called *Nishokkon*, above thirty years ago; and since that, I suppose, they have grown a little further into the *New-English* way of Preaching: you may have in their Sermons a *Kukkeoromwohteaonk*, that is, a Doctrine, *Nahtootomwehteaonk*, or, an Answer, a *Witcheayeuonk*, or, a Reason with an *Ouwoteank*, or, an Use for the close of all.

As for Holy-days, you may take it for granted, our *Eliot* would not perswade his Indians to any stated ones. Even the *Christmas-Festival* it self,

he knew to be a ſtranger unto the Apoſtolical times; that the exquiſite *Voſſius* himſelf acknowledges, 'twas not celebrated in the Firſt or Second Century: and that there is a Truth in the words of the great *Chemnitius*, *Anniverſarium Diem Natalis Chriſti, celebratum fuiſſe, apud veteriſſimos nunquam legitur.* It was his Opinion, that if the *Day of our Lord's Nativity* were to be obſerved, it ſhould not be in *December*: that many Churches for divers ages kept it not in *December*, but in *January*; that *Chryſoſtom* himſelf, about four hundred years after our Saviour, excuſes the Novelty of the *December*-ſeaſon for it, and confeſſes it had not been kept above ten years at *Conſtantinople*: No, that it ſhould be rather in *September*, in which Month the *Jews* kept the Feaſt that was a Type of our Lord's Incarnation; and *Solomon* alſo brought the *Ark* into the Temple, for our Lord was thirty years old when he entred upon his publick Miniſtry; and he continued in it three years and an half; now his Death was in *March*, and it is eaſie then to Calculate when his Birth ought to be. He knew that indeed God had hid this Day, as he did the Body of *Moſes*, to prevent Idolatry; but that *Antichriſt* had choſe this Day to accommodate the *Pagans* in their licencious and their debauched *Saturnalia*; and that a *Tertullian* would not ſtick to ſay, *Shall we Chriſtians, who have nothing to do with the Feſtivals of the* Jews, *which were once of Divine Inſtitution, embrace the* Saturnalia *of the Heathen? How do*

the

the Gentiles *ſhame us, who are more true to their Religion than we are to ours? None of them will obſerve the Lord's-Day, for fear leſt they ſhould be* Chriſtians; *and ſhall not we then by obſerving their Feſtivals, fear leſt we be made* Ethnicks? In fine, it was his Opinion, That for us to have ſtated Holy-Days, which are not appointed by the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, is a deep Reflection upon the Wiſdom of that Glorious Lord; and he brought up his *Indians* in the Principles which the old *Waldenſes* had about ſuch non-inſtituted Holy-Days.

Nevertheleſs, he taught them to ſet apart their Days both for Faſting and Prayer, and for Feaſting and Praiſe, when there ſhould be *extraordinary Occaſions* for them; and they perform the Duties of theſe Days with a very laborious Piety. One Party of the *Indians* long ſince, of their own accord, kept a *Day of Supplication* together, wherein one of them diſcourſed upon *Pſal.* 66. 7. *He rules by his power for ever, his eyes behold the nations: let not the rebellious exalt themſelves.* And when one asked them afterwards, what was their reaſon of their keeping ſuch a day? they repli'd, *It was to obtain five Mercies of God.*

'Firſt, That God would ſlay the rebellion of 'their Hearts. Next, That they might love God 'and one another. Thirdly, That they might 'withſtand the Temptations of wicked Men, ſo 'that they might not be drawn back from God. 'Fourthly, That they might be Obedient unto 'the Counſels and Commands of their Rulers.

'Fifthly, That they might have their Sins done 'away by the Redemption of Jeſus Chriſt. And 'laſtly, That they might walk in the good ways 'of the Lord.' I muſt here embrace my opportunity to tell the World, That our cautious *Eliot* was far from the opinion of thoſe who have thought it not only warrantable, but alſo commendable to Adopt ſome Heathenish uſages into the Worſhip of God, for the more eaſie and ſpeedy gaining of the Heathen to that Worſhip. The policy of treating the *Pagan* Rites as the *Jews* were to do Captives, before they married them, to ſhave their Hair, and pair their Nails, our *Eliot* counted as ridiculous as pernicious. He knew that the Idolatries and Abominations of Popery, were founded in this way of Proſelyting the barbarous Nations, which made their Deſcent upon the *Roman* Empire; and he look'd upon the like methods which the Proteſtants have uſed, that they might ingratiate themſelves with the Papiſts, and that our ſeparation from them ſhould become the leſs dangerous and ſenſible, to be the moſt ſenſible and dangerous wound of the Reformation. Wherefore, as no leſs a Man than Dr. *Henry Moor* ſays about our Compliances with the *Papiſts*, which are a ſort of *Pagans*, *Their Converſion and Salvation being not to be compaſſed by needleſs Symbolizing with them in any thing, I conceive our beſt policy is ſtudiouſly to imitate them in nothing, but for all indifferent things, to think rather the worſe of them for their uſing of them. As no Perſon of Honour would willingly go in the known*

known Garb of infamous Perſons. Whatſoever we court them ing they do but turn it to our ſcorn and contempt, and are the more hardened in their own wickeaneſs. To act upon this Principle, is the deſign and glory of *New-England!* And our *Eliot* was of this perſwaſion, when he brought his *Indians* to a pure, plain, Scripture Worſhip. He would not gratifie them with a *Samaritan* ſort of blended, mixed Worſhip; and he imagined, as well he might, that the Apoſtle *Paul's* firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* had enough in it, for ever to deter us all from ſuch unhappy Temporizing.

(*i*) *A Compariſon between what the* New-Englanders *have done for the Converſion of the* Indians, *and what has been done elſewhere by the* Roman Catholicks.

IT is to be confeſſed, That the *Roman Catholicks* have a Clergy ſo very numerous, and ſo little encumbred, and are Maſters of ſuch prodigious Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, as renders it very eaſie for them to exceed the *Proteſtants* in their endeavours to Chriſtianize the *Pagan* Salvages. Nor would I reproach, but rather applaud their Induſtry in this matter, wiſhing that we were all touched with an Emulation of it. Nevertheleſs, while I commend their Induſtry, they do by their Clamours againſt the Reformed Churches upon this account, oblige me to tax divers very ſcandalous things in the *Miſſions*

which they make *pro propaganda fide* throughout the World; and therewithal to compare what has been done by that little handful of reformed Churches in this Country, which has in divers regards out-done the furtheſt Efforts of Popery.

The Attainments, which with God's help we have carried up our *Indians* unto, are the chief honour and glory of our Labours with them. The Reader will ſmile perhaps, when I tell him, that by an odd accident there are lately fallen into my hands, the Manuſcripts of a *Jeſuit*, whom the *French* employ'd as a *Miſſionary* among the Weſtern *Indians*; in which Papers there are both a *Catechiſm* containing the Principles which thoſe Heathen are to be inſtructed in; and *Caſes of Conſcience*, referring to their Converſations. The *Catechiſm*, which is in the *Iroquoiſe* Language (a Language remarkable for this, that there is not ſo much as one *Labial* in it) with a Tranſlation annexed, has one Chapter about *Heaven*, and another about *Hell*, wherein are ſuch Thick-skull'd paſſages as theſe.

'Q. *How is the Soyl made in Heaven?*

'A. 'Tis a very *fair Soyl*; they want neither 'for *Meats* nor *Clothes*; 'tis but *wiſhing*, and we 'have them.

'Q. *Are they employ'd in Heaven?*

'A. No, they do nothing; the Fields yield 'Corn, *Beans*, *Pumpkins*, and the like, without 'any Tillage.

'Q. *What ſort of Trees are there?*

'A. Always green, full, and flouriſhing.

Q. *Have*

'Q. *Have they in Heaven the same Sun, the same Wind, the same Thunder that we have here?*

'A. No; the Sun ever shines; 'tis always fair weather.

'Q. *But how their Fruits?*

'A. In this one quality they exceed ours; that they are never wasted; you have no sooner pluckt one, but you see another presently hanging in its room. And after this rate goes on the *Catechism* concerning Heaven. Concerning Hell it thus discourses:

'Q. *What sort of a Soil is that of Hell?*

'A. A very wretched Soil; 'tis a fiery Pit, in the Center of the Earth.

'Q. *Have they any Light in Hell?*

'A. No; 'tis always Dark; there's always Smoke there; their Eyes are always in pain with it; they can see nothing but the Devils.

'Q. *What shap'd things are the Devils?*

'A. Very ill-shap'd things; they go about with Vizards on; and they terrifie Men.

'Q. *What do they eat in Hell?*

'A. They are always hungry; but the damned feed upon hot Ashes and Serpents there.

'Q. *What Water have they to drink?*

'A. Horrid Water; nothing but melted Lead.

'Q. *Don't they die in Hell?*

'A. No; yet they eat one another every day; but anon God restores and renews the Man that was eaten, as a cropt Plant, in a little time repullulates.

It ſeems they have not thought this Divinity too groſs for the Barbarians. But I ſhall make no Reflections on it; only add one or two *Caſes of Conſcience* from their Directory.

'Tis one of their weighty Caſes, 'Whether a 'Chriſtian be bound to pay his Whore her Hire 'or no? To this Father *Bruias* anſwers, *Tho' he be bound in Juſtice to do it, yet inaſmuch as the Barbarians* [and you muſt ſuppoſe their Whores to be ſuch!] *uſe to keep no Faith in ſuch matters, the Chriſtians may chuſe whether they will keep any too.* But Father *Pierron* with a moſt profound Learning anſwers, *He is not bound unto it all; inaſmuch as no Man thinks himſelf bound to pay a Witch that has enchanted him; and this buſineſs is pretty much akin to that.* Another of their difficult Caſes, is, 'Whether an *Indian* ſtealing an 'Hatchet from a *Dutch*-man, be bound to make 'reſtitution? And it is very conſcientiouſly determined. 'That if the *Dutch*-man be one that 'has uſed any Trade with other *Indians*, the 'Thief is not bound unto any reſtitution; for, 'tis certain, he gains more by ſuch a Trade than 'the value of many Hatchets, in a Year.

I'll tire my Reader with no more of this wretched ſtuff. But let him underſtand, that the proſelyted *Indians* of *New-England* have been Inſtructed at a more noble rate; we have helped them to the ſincere Milk of the Word; we have given them the *whole Bible* in their own Language; we have laid before them ſuch a *Creed* as the Primitive Believers had, with ſuch Expli-

Explications as we embark our own Souls upon the Aſſurance of. And God has bleſſed our education of theſe poor creatures in ſuch a meaſure, that they can Pray and Preach to better edification (give me leave to ſay it) than multitudes of the Romiſh Clergymen. We could have Baptiſed many Troops of *Indians*, if we would have uſed no other meaſures with them, than the *Roman-Catholicks* did upon theirs at *Maryland*, where they Baptized a great Crew of *Indians*, in ſome new Shirts, beſtow'd upon them to encourage them thereunto; but the *Indians* in a week or two, not knowing how to waſh their ſhirts, when they were grown foul, came and made a motion, that the Roman Catholicks would give more ſhirts to them, or elſe they would renounce their Baptiſm. No, 'tis a *Thorough paced Chriſtianity*, without which we have not imagined our *Indians* Chriſtianized.

Nor have we been acted with a Roman-Catholick *Avarice* and *Falſity* and *Cruelty* in proſecuting of our converſions; 'tis the Spirit of an ELIOT, that has all along directed us. 'Tis a Specimen of the Popiſh *Avarice*, that their Miſſionaries are very rarely employ'd but where Bever, and Silver, and vaſt Riches are to be thereby gained; their Miniſtry is but a ſort of Engine, to enrich *Europeans* with the Treaſures of the *Indies*; thus one eſcaped from Captivity among the *Spaniards*, told me, that the *Spaniſh* Friars had carried their Goſpel into the ſpacious Country of *California*; but finding the

Indians

Indians there to be extreamly poor, they quickly gave other the work, becauſe forſooth *ſuch a poor Nation was not worth converting.* Whereas the *New-Englanders* could expect nothing from their *Indians.* We are to feed them and cloath them, rather than receive any thing from them, when we bring them home to God. Again, the Popiſh Falſity diſpoſes them to ſo much *Legerdemain* in their Applications, as is very diſagreeable to the Spirit and Progreſs of the Goſpel. My worthy Friend, Mynheer *Daille*, who has been ſedulous and ſucceſsful in his Miniſtry among the *Maqua's*, aſſures me, that a *French* Predicator, having been attempting to bring over thoſe *Indians* unto the Intereſt (not of our Saviour, ſo much as) of *Canada*, at laſt, for a cure of their Infidelity, told them, he would give them a ſign of God's Diſpleaſure at them for it; *The Sun ſhould ſuch a day be put out.* This Terrify'd them at a ſad rate, and with great admiration and expectation, they told the *Dutch* of what was to come to paſs; the *Dutch* reply'd, *This was no more than every Child among them could foretel; they all knew there would then be an Eclipſe of the Sun; but (ſaid they) ſpeak to* Monſieur, *that he would get the Sun extinguiſh'd a day before, or a day after what he ſpoke of, and if he can do that, believe him.* When the *Indians* thus underſtood what a Trick the *Frenchman* would have put upon them, they became irreconcileably prejudiced againſt all his offers; nor have the *French* been ſince able

to

to gain much upon that conſiderable people. The *New-Englanders* have uſed no ſuch Stratagems and Knaveries; 'tis the pure light of truth, which is all that has been uſed for the effecting of the rude people, whom 'twas eaſy to have cheated into our Profeſſion. Much leſs have we uſed that Popiſh Cruelty, which the Natives of *America* have by ſome other people been treated with. Even a Biſhop of their own, hath publiſhed very tragical Hiſtories of the *Spaniſh* Cruelties upon the *Indians* of this Weſtern World. Such were thoſe Cruelties, that the *Indians* at length declared, *They had rather go to Hell with their Anceſtors, than to the ſame Heaven which the* Spaniards *pretended unto.* 'Tis indeed impoſſible to reckon up, the various and exquiſite Barbarities with which theſe execrable *Spaniards* murthered in leſs than fifty years, no leſs than fifty Millions of the *Indians*; it ſeems this was their way of bringing them into the Sheepfold of our merciful Jeſus; but on the other ſide, the good people of *New-England* have carried it with ſo much tenderneſs towards the tawny Creatures among whom we live, that they would not own ſo much as one foot of Land in the Countrey, without a fair Purchaſe and Conſent from the Natives that laid claim unto it; albeit we had a Royal Charter from the King of *Great Britain*, to protect us in our ſettlement upon this Continent. I ſuppoſe, 'twas in revenge upon us for this Conſcientiouſneſs, that the late oppreſſors of *New England*, acknowledged no man

man to have any Title at all, unto one *Foot of Land* in all our Colony. But we did, and we do think, notwithſtanding the Banters of ſuch ill men, that the *Indians* had not by their Paganiſm ſo forfeited all Right unto any of their Poſſeſſions, that the firſt pretended Chriſtians that could, might Violently and yet Honeſtly ſeize upon them. Inſtead of this, the people of *New-England*, knowing that ſome of the Engliſh were ſufficiently covetous and encroaching, and that the *Indians* in ſtreights are eaſily prevailed upon, to ſell their Lands, made a Law, *That none ſhould purchaſe, or ſo much as Recieve any land of the* Indians, *without the allowance of the General Court*. Yea, and ſome Lands which were peculiarly convenient for the *Indians*, our people, who were more careful of them than they were of themſelves, made a Law, *That they ſhould never be bought out of their hands*. I ſuppoſe after this, it would ſurpriſe mankind, if they ſhould hear ſuch wonderful Creatures as our late Secretary, affirming, *This barbarous people were never civilly treated by the late Government, who made it their buſineſs to encroach upon their Lands, and by degrees to drive them out of all.* But, how many other Laws we made in favour of the *Indians*, 'tis not eaſy to reckon up. 'Twas one of our Laws, 'That for the further 'encouragement of the hopeful work among 'them, for the Civilizing and Chriſtianizing of 'them, any *Indian* that ſhould be brought unto 'Civility, and come to live orderly in any *En-*

'*gliſh*

'*gliſh* Plantation, ſhould have ſuch Allotments 'among the *Engliſh*, as the *Engliſh* had them-'ſelves. And, that if a competent number of 'them, ſhould ſo come on to civility, as to be 'capable of a Townſhip, the General Court 'ſhould grant them Lands for a Plantation, as they 'do unto the *Engliſh*; Altho we had already bought up their Claims unto our Lands. We likewiſe had our Laws, *That if any of our Cattle did any damage to their Corn, we ſhould make them ample ſatisfaction; and that we ſhould give them all manner of Aſſiſtance in Fencing of their Fields.* And becauſe the Indians are exceſſively given unto the vice of *Drunkenneſs*, which was a vice unknown to them, until the *Engliſh* brought Strong-drink in their way, we have had a ſevere Law againſt all ſelling or giving any *Intoxicating Liquors* to them. It were well if this Law were more ſeverely Executed.

By this time I hope I have ſtopp'd the calumnious Exclamations of the *Roman Catholicks* againſt the Churches of the Reformation, for neglecting to Evangelize the Natives of the *Indies*. But let me take this occaſion to addreſs the *Chriſtian Indians* of my own Countrey, into ſome of whoſe hands 'tis likely this little Book may come.

¶ 'Behold ye *Indians*, what love, what care, 'what coſt, has been uſed by the *Engliſh* here, 'for the Salvation of your precious and immor-'tal Souls. It is not becauſe we have expected 'any *Temporal Advantage* from you, that we 'have been thus concerned for your good: No,

'tis

'tis God that has cauſed us to deſire his Glory in your Salvation; and our hearts have bled with Pity over you, when we have ſeen how horribly the Devil Oppreſs'd you in this, and Deſtroy'd you in another world. It is *much* that has been done for you; we have put you into a way to be happy both on *Earth* while you live, and in *Heaven* when ye Dye. What can you think will become of you, if you ſlight all theſe Glorious offers! methinks you ſhould ſay to your-ſelves, *Vtoh woh kiisinne peh quoh humunan miſhanantamog ne mohſag waachanituonk*! You all believe that your Teacher *ELIOT* was a Good and a Brave Man, and you would count it your Bleſſedneſs to be for ever with him. Nevertheleſs, I am to tell you, that if you don't become Real, and Thorough, and Holy Chriſtians, you ſhall never have a comfortable ſight of him any more. You know how he has fed you, and Cloath'd you, as well as Taught you; you know how his Bowels yerned over you, even as tho' you had been his Children, when he ſaw any Afflictions come upon you; but if he find you among the wicked, in the Day of Judgment, which he ſo often warn'd you of, he will then be a Dreadful Witneſs againſt you; and when the Lord Jeſus paſſes that ſentence on you, *Depart ye Curſed into Everlaſting Fire with the Devil and his Angels*, even your own *ELIOT* will then ſay, *Amen*, unto it all. Now, to deal plainly with you, there are two Vices, which many of you are too

prone

'prone unto, and which are utterly inconſiſtent 'with a True Chriſtianity. One of thoſe Vices 'is that of Idleneſs; if you had a Diſpoſition 'to follow an Honeſt Calling, what ſhould hin-'der you from growing as Conſiderable in your E-'ſtates, as many of your Engliſh Neighbours? 'whereas, you are now poor, mean, ragged, ſtar-'ved, contemptible and miſerable; and inſtead 'of being able, as your Engliſh Neighbours do, to 'ſupport the Ordinances of God, you are behol-'den to *them*, not only for maintaining of thoſe 'Bleſſed Ordinances among you, but for many o-'ther kindneſſes. And have you indeed forgot 'the *Commandment* of God which has been ſo 'often laid before you, *Six days ſhalt thou La-'bour*! for ſhame apply your ſelves to ſuch 'Labour as may bring you into more 'Handſom Circumſtances. But the other of 'thoſe Vices, is that of *Drunkenneſs*. There are 'godly *Engliſh Neighbours*, of whom you ſhould 'learn to pray; but there are ſome of you that 'learn to Drink, of other profane, debau-'ched *Engliſh Neighbours*. Poor Creatures, 'tis by this Iniquity that *Satan* ſtill keeps 'Poſſeſſion of many Souls among you, as much 'as if you were ſtill in all your woful *Heathe-'niſm*; and how often have you been told, '*Drunkards ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of 'God*? I beſeech you to be ſenſible of the 'miſchiefs to which this thing expoſes you, 'and never dream of eſcaping the *Vengeance 'of Eternal Fire*, if you indulge your

'ſelves

'ſelves in this *Accurſed Thing*. I have done, 'when I have wiſh'd, that the *Goſpel* of the 'Lord Jeſus may always *Run and be Glorify'd* 'among you.

The Concluſion; *or*, Eliot *Expiring*.

BY this time, I have doubtleſs made my Readers loth to have me tell what now remains of this little Hiſtory; doubtleſs they are wiſhing that this *John* might have *Tarried until the Second Coming of our Lord*. But, alas, All-devouring *Death* at laſt ſnatch'd him from us, and ſlighted all thoſe Lamentations of ours, *My Father, My Father, the Chariots of Iſrael, and the Horſemen thereof!*

When he was become a ſort of *Miles Emeritus, and began* to draw near his End, he grew ſtill more Heavenly, more Savoury, more Divine, and Scented more of the ſpicy Country at which he was ready to put aſhoar. As the Hiſtorian obſerves of *Tiberius*; That when his Life and Strength were going from him, his Vice yet remained with him; on the contrary, the Grace of this Excellent Man rather increaſed than abated, when every thing elſe was dying with him. 'Tis too uſual with Old men, that when they are paſt work, they are leaſt ſenſible of their inabilities and incapacities, and can ſcarce endure to ſee another ſucceeding them in any

any part of their Office. But our *Eliot* was of a Temper quite contrary thereunto; for finding many Months before his Expiration, That he had not ſtrength enough to Edify his Congregation with publick *Prayers*, and *Sermons*, he importun'd his people with ſome impatience to call another Miniſter; profeſſing himſelf, unable to Dye with Comfort, untill he could ſee a good Succeſſor ordained, ſettled, and fixed among them. For this cauſe, he alſo cry'd mightily unto the Lord Jeſus, our Aſcended Lord, that he would give ſuch a Gift unto *Roxbury*; and he ſometimes call'd his whole Town together, to joyn with him in a Faſt for ſuch a bleſſing. As the return of their Supplications, our Lord quickly beſtow'd upon them, a perſon young in years, but old in Diſcretion, Gravity, and Experience; and one whom the Church of *Roxbury* hopes to find, *A Paſtor after God's own Heart.*

It was Mr. *Nehemiah Walter*, who being by the unanimous Vote and Choice of the Church there, become the *Paſtor* of *Roxbury*, immediately found the Venerable *Eliot* Embracing and Cheriſhing of him, with the tender Affections of a *Father*. The good Old Man like Old *Aaron* as it were diſrobed himſelf, with an unſpeakable Satisfaction, when he beheld his garments put upon a ſon ſo dear unto him. After this, he for a year or two before his Tranſlation, could ſcarce be perſwaded unto any publick Service, but humbly pleaded, what none but he would ever have ſaid, *It would be a wrong to the Souls*

of the people, for him to do any thing among them, when they were ſupply'd ſo much to their Advantage otherwiſe. If I miſtake not, the Laſt that ever he Preached was on a Publick Faſt; when he fed his people with a very diſtinct, and uſeful Expoſition upon the Eighty Third Pſalm; and he concluded with an Apology, begging his Hearers to pardon the poorneſs, and meanneſs, and brokenneſs, (as he called it) of his Meditations; but added he, *My dear Brother here, will by and by mend all.*

But altho' he thus diſmiſſed himſelf, as one ſo near to the Age of Ninety, might well have done, from his publick Labours; yet he would not give over his Endeavours, in a more private Sphere, to *Do good unto all.* He had always been an Enemy to Idleneſs; any one that ſhould look into the little *Diary* that he kept in his *Almanacks*, would ſee that there was with him, *No day without a Line*; he was troubled when he ſaw how much Time was devoured by that ſlavery to *Tobacco*, which too many debaſe themſelves unto; and now he grew old, he was deſirous that his work ſhould hold pace with his Life; the leſs Time he ſaw left, the leſs was he willing to have loſt. He imagined that he could now do nothing to any purpoſe in any Service for God; and ſometimes he would ſay with an Air peculiar to himſelf, *I wonder for what the Lord Jeſus Chriſt lets me live; he knows that now I can do nothing for him!* And yet he could not forbear Eſſaying to do ſomething for his

his deareſt Lord; wherefore, thought he, *What ſhall I do?* And he then conceived, that tho the *Engliſh* could not be benefited by any Gifts which he now fancied himſelf to have only the Ruines of, yet who can tell but the *Negro*'s might! He had long lamented it with a bleeding and a burning paſſion, that the *Engliſh* uſed their *Negro*'s but as for Horſes or their Oxen, and that ſo little care was taken about their precious and immortal Souls, he look'd upon it as a Prodigy, that any wearing the Name of Chriſtians, ſhould ſo much have the Heart of Devils in them, as to prevent and hinder the Inſtructions of the poor *Blackamoores*, and confine the Souls of their miſerable Slaves to a deſtroying ignorance, meerly for fear of thereby looſing the benefit of their Vaſſalage; but now he made a motion to the *Engliſh* within two or three miles of him, that at ſuch a time and place they would ſend their *Negro*'s once a week unto him: for he would then Catechiſe them, and *Enlighten* them to the utmoſt of his power in the things of their Everlaſting Peace; however, he did not live to make much progreſs in this Undertaking.

At length when he was able to do little without doors, he try'd then to do ſomething within; and one thing was this. A young Boy in the Neighbourhood, had in his Infancy fallen into a fire, ſo as to burn himſelf into a perfect Blindneſs; but this Boy being now grown to ſome bigneſs, the good old man took him home to

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his houſe, with ſome intentions to make a *Scholar* of him. He firſt informed him of and from the *Scripture*, in which the Boy ſo profited, that in a little time he could even Repeat many whole *Chapters* Verbatim, and if any other in Reading miſſed a word, he would mind them of it; yea, and an ordinary piece of Latin was become eaſy to the Lad; but having his own *Eyes* cloſed by Death, he could no longer help the poor Child againſt the want of his.

Thus, as the Aged *Polycarp* could ſay, *Theſe Eighty Six years have I ſerved my Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and he has been ſuch a good Maſter to me all this while, that I will not now forſake him.* Such a *Polycarp* was our *Eliot*; he had been ſo many years engaged in the ſweet ſervice of his dear Jeſus, that he could not now give it over: 'twas his Ambition, and his Priviledge, *to bring forth Fruit in old Age*; and what veneration the Church of *Smyrna* paid unto that *Angel* of theirs, we were upon the like Accounts willing to give unto *this Man of God.*

While he was thus making his *Retreat* out of this evil world, his Diſcourſes from time to time ran upon, *The Coming of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt*; it was the Theme which he ſtill had Recourſe unto, and we were ſure to have ſomething of *this*, whatever other Subject he were upon. On *this* he talk'd, of *this* he pray'd, for *this* he long'd, and eſpecially when any bad News arriv'd, his uſual reflection thereupon would be, *Behold ſome of the Clouds in which*

we

we must look for the coming of the Son of Man. At last, his Lord, for whom he had been long wishing, *Lord come, I have been a great while ready for thy Coming!* at last, I say, his Lord *came*, and fetched him away into the *Joy of his Lord.*

He fell into some Languishments, attended with a *Fever*, which in a few days brought him into the Pangs (may I say? or Joys) of Death; and while he lay in these, Mr. *Walter* coming to him, he said unto him, *Brother, Thou art welcome to my very Soul. Pray, Retire to my Study for me, and give me leave to be gone*; meaning that he should not, by Petitions to Heaven for his Life, detain him here. It was in these Languishments, that speaking about the work of the Gospel among the *Indians*, he did after this Heavenly manner express himself, *There is a Cloud* (said he) *a dark cloud upon the work of the Gospel among the poor* Indians. *The Lord Revive and prosper that work, and grant it may live when I am Dead. It is a work, which I have been Doing much and long about But what was the word I spoke last? I Recal that word,* My Doings: *Alas, they have been poor and small and lean Doings, and I'le be the man that shall throw the first stone at them all.*

It has been observed, that they who have spoke many considerable things in their Lives, usually speak few at their Deaths. But it was otherwise with our *Eliot*, who after much Speech of and for God in his Life-time, uttered some things little short of *Oracles* on his Death-

Bed; which, 'tis a thouſand pities, they were not more exactly regarded and recorded. Thoſe Authors that have taken the pains to Collect, *Apophthegmata Morientium*, have not therein been unſerviceable to the Living; but the *Apophthegms* of a Dying *Eliot* muſt have had in them a Grace and a Strain truly extraordinary; and indeed the *vulgar Error* of the ſignal ſweetneſs in the Song of a *Dying Swan*, was a very *Truth* in our expiring *Eliot*; his laſt Breath ſmelt ſtrong of Heaven, and was Articled into none but very gracious Notes; one of the laſt whereof, was, *Welcome Joy*! and at laſt it went away, calling upon the ſtanders by, to *Pray, pray, pray*! which was the thing in which ſo vaſt a portion of it had been before Employ'd.

This was the peace, in the end of this *Perfect and upright man*; thus was there another Star fetched away to be placed among the reſt that the third Heaven is now enriched with. He had once, I think, a pleaſant Fear, that the old Saints of his Acquaintance, eſpecially thoſe two deareſt Neighbours of his, *Cotton* of *Boſton*, and *Mather* of *Dorcheſter*, which were got ſafe to Heaven before him, would ſuſpect him to be gone the wrong way, becauſe he ſtaid ſo long behind them. But they are now together with a Bleſſed Jeſus, *beholding of his Glory*, and celebrating the High Praiſes of Him that has *call'd them into his marvellous light*. Whether *Heaven* was any more *Heaven* to him, becauſe of his finding there ſo many *Saints* with whom he once had his

his Delicious and Cœlestial Intimacies, yea, and so many *Saints* which had been the seals of his own Ministry, in this lower world, I cannot say; but it would be *Heaven* enough unto him, to go into that *Jesus*, whom he had lov'd, preach'd, serv'd, and in whom he had been long assured, there does *All Fulness dwell.* In that Heaven I now leave him: but not without *Gregus*'s pathetical Exclamations, [*O beatum illum diem!*] 'Blessed will be the Day, O blessed the Day of our 'Arrival to the glorious Assembly of Spirits, 'which this great Saint is now rejoycing with!'

Bereaved *New-England*, where are thy tears, at this Ill-boding Funeral? We had a Tradition among us, 'That the Country could never 'perish, as long as *Eliot* was alive. But into whose hands must this *Hippo* fall, now the *Austin* of it is taken away? Our *Elisha* is gone, and now who must *next year invade the Land*? The *Jews* have a saying, *Quando Luminaria patiuntur Eclipsin, malum signum est mundo*; But I am sure, 'tis a dismal *Eclipse* that has now befallen our *New-English* World. I confess, many of the Ancients fell into the vanity of esteeming the Reliques of the *Dead Saints*, to be the *Towers* and *Ramparts* of the place that enjoy'd them; and the *dead Bodies* of two Apostles in the City, made the Poet cry out,

A Facie Hostili duo propugnacula præsunt.

If the Dust of *dead Saints* could give us any

protection, we are not without it; here is a Spot of *American* Soyl that will afford a rich Crop of it, at the *Reſurrection of the Juſt*. Poor *New-England* has been as *Glaſtenbury* of old was called, *A Burying-Place of Saints*, But we cannot ſee a more terrible Prognoſtick than Tombs filling apace with ſuch Bones, as thoſe of the Renowned *Eliot*'s; the whole Building of this Countrey trembles at the Fall of ſuch a Pillar.

For many Months before he dy'd, he would often chearfully tell us, 'That he was ſhortly 'going to Heaven, and that he would carry a 'deal of good News thither with him; *he 'ſaid*, He would carry Tidings to the Old 'Founders of *New-England*, which were now 'in Glory, that Church-work was yet carried 'on among us: that the number of our Chur-'ches was continually encreaſing: and that the 'Churches were ſtill kept as big as they were, by 'the daily additions of thoſe that ſhall be ſaved. But the going of ſuch as he from us, will apace diminiſh the occaſions of ſuch happy tidings.

What ſhall we now ſay? Our *Eliot* himſelf uſed moſt affectionately to bewail the Death of all uſeful Men; yet if one brought him the notice of ſuch a thing, with any Deſpondencies, or ſaid, *O Sir, ſuch a one is Dead, what ſhall we do?* he would anſwer, *Well, but God live, Chriſt lives, the Old Saviour of* New-England *yet lives, and he will Reign till all his Enemies are made his Footſtool.* This, and only this conſideration have we to relieve us; and let it be accompa-

nied

nied with our addreſſes to the *God of the Spirits of all Fleſh*, That there may be *Timothies* raiſed up in the room of our Departed *Pauls*; and that when our *Moſes*'s are gone, the Spirit which was in thoſe brave men, may be put upon the ſurviving *Elders of our Iſrael.*

The laſt thing, that ever our *Eliot* put off, was, *The care of all the Churches*, which with a moſt Apoſtolical and Evangelical Temper he was continually ſolicitous about. When the Churches of *New-England* were under a very uncomfortable proſpect, by the advantage which men that ſought the Ruine of thoſe golden and holy and Reformed Societies, had obtained againſt them, God put it into the heart of one well-known in theſe Churches, to take a Voyage into *England*, that he might by his Mediations at *Whitehall*, divert the *Storms* that were then impending over us. 'Tis not eaſy to expreſs what *Affection* our Aged *Eliot* proſecuted this undertaking with; and what Thanksgiving he rendred unto God for any hopeful Succeſſes of it. But becauſe one of the laſt Times, and for ought I know, The Laſt, of his ever ſetting Pen to paper in the world, was upon this occaſion; I ſhall tranſcribe a ſhort Letter, which was *written* by the ſhaking hand, that had heretofore by *writing* deſerved ſo well from the Church of God, but was now taking its leave of *writing* for ever. It was written to the perſon that was Engaging for us, and thus it ran.

Reve-

Reverend and Beloved, Mr. Increaſe Mather.

'I cannot *write*. Read Neh. 2. 10. When '*Sanballat* the *Horonite*, and *Tobijah* the Ser-'vant, the *Ammonite*, heard of it, it grieved 'them exceedingly, that there was come a man 'to ſeek the Welfare of the Children of *Iſrael*. 'Let thy bleſſed Soul feed full and fat upon 'this and other Scriptures. All other things I 'leave to other men; and reſt,

Your Loving Brother,

John Eliot.

Theſe two or three lines manifeſt the *Care of the Churches* which *breath'd* in this great old man, as long as he had a *Breath* to draw in the world. And ſince he has left few like him for a Comprehenſive and Univerſal Regard unto the Proſperity of all the *Flocks* in this Wilderneſs, we have little now to comfort us in the loſs of one ſo like a *Patriarch* among us, but only this; That our poor Churches, it may be hop'd, have ſtill ſome Intereſt in the *Cares* of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Who walks in the midſt of the Golden Candleſticks.* Lord, make our Churches and keep them, yet *Golden Candleſticks!* Amen.

But I have not obtained the end of this Hiſtory, nor may I let this Hiſtory come to an end, until I do with ſome importunity beſpeak the endeavours of good men every where, to labour in that Harveſt which the Bleſſed *ELIOT* juſtly counted worthy of his utmoſt pains and cares. It was the confeſſion of *Themiſtocles*, that the victories

tories of *Miltiades* would not let him ſleep in quietneſs; may thoſe of our *Eliot* raiſe a like emulation in thoſe that have now ſeen the Life of this Evangelical Hero! When one *Robert Baily*, many years ago, publiſhed a Book, wherein ſeveral groſs Lyes by which the name of that *JOHN COTTON*, who was known to be one of the holieſt Men then alive, was moſt injuriouſly made odious unto the Churches abroad, were accompanied with ſome Reflections upon poor *New-England*, whereof this was one, *The way of their Churches hath moſt exceedingly hindred the converſion of the poor* Pagans; *of all that ever croſſed the* American *Seas, they are noted as moſt neglectful of the work of Converſion.* We have now ſeen thoſe Aſperſions and Calumnies abundantly wip'd away. But let that which has been the *Vindication* of *New-England*, be alſo the *Emulation* of the World; for ſhame, let not poor little *New-England*, be the only Proteſtant Country that ſhall do any notable thing for *the propagation of the Faith*, unto thoſe *Dark corners of the Earth which are full of cruel Habitations.* But the *Addreſſes* of ſo mean a Perſon as my ſelf, are like to prevail but little abroad with Men of Learning and Figure in the World. However, I ſhall preſume to utter my Wiſhes in the ſight of my Readers; and it is poſſible that the Great God, *who deſpiſes not the Prayer of the poor*, may by the Influences of his Holy Spirit, upon the Hearts of ſome whoſe Eyes are upon theſe Lines, give a bleſſed Anſwer thereunto.

Wh ere

Wherefore, may the People of *New-England*, who have ſeen ſo ſenſible a Difference between the Eſtates of thoſe that ſell Drink, and of thoſe that preach Truth, unto the miſerable Salvages among them, as that even this alone might inſpire them, yet from a nobler conſideration than that of their own outward proſperity thereby advanced, be encouraged ſtill to proſecute, firſt the Civilizing, and then the Chriſtianizing of the *Barbarians* in their Neighbourhood; and may the *New-Englanders* be ſo far Politick as well as Religious, as particularly to make a Miſſion of the Goſpel unto the mighty Nations of the Weſtern *Indians*, whom the *French* have been of late ſo ſtudiouſly, but ſo unſucceſsfully tampering with; leſt thoſe horrid *Pagans*, who lately (as 'tis credibly affirmed) had ſuch a meaſure of Deviliſm and Inſolence in them, as to ſhoot a Volley of great and ſmall Shot againſt the Heavens, in Revenge upon *the Man in the Heavens*, as they called our Lord, whom they counted the Author of the heavy Calamities which newly have diſtreſſed them, be found ſpared by our long-ſuffering Lord, [who then indeed preſently tore the Ground aſunder, with immediate and horrible Thunders from Heaven round about them, but kill'd them not!] for a ſcourge to us, that have not uſed our advantages to make a vertuous People of them. If a King of the *Weſt-Saxons* long ſince aſcribed all the Diſaſters on any of their Affairs, to Negligencies in this Point, methinks the *New-Englanders* may not

not count it unreaſonable in this way to ſeek their own proſperity. Shall we do what we can that our Lord Jeſus may beſtow upon *America*, which may more juſtly be call'd *Columba*, that Salutation, *O my Dove*!

May the ſeveral Plantations, that live upon the Labours of their *Negroes*, no more be guilty of ſuch a prodigious wickedneſs, as to deride, neglect, and oppoſe all due means of bringing their poor *Negroes* unto our Lord; but may the Maſters, of whom God will one day require the Souls of the Slaves committed unto them, ſee to it, that like *Abraham*, they have Catechized Servants; and not imagine that the Almighty God made ſo many thouſands of reaſonable Creatures for nothing, but only to ſerve the Luſts of *Epicures*, or the gains of *Mammoniſts*, leſt the God of Heaven out of meer Pity, if not Juſtice, unto thoſe unhappy *Blacks*, be provoked unto a Vengeance which may not without horrour be thought upon: *Lord, when ſhall we ſee* Ethiopians *read thy Scriptures with Underſtanding!*

May the *Engliſh* Nation do what may be done, that the *Welch* may not be *deſtroyed for the lack of Knowledge*, leſt our indiſpoſition to do for their Souls, bring upon us all thoſe Judgments of Heaven, which *Gildas* their Country-man once told them, that they ſuffered for their diſregards unto ours; and may the nefandous Maſſacres of the *Engliſh* by the *Iriſh*, awaken the *Engliſh* to conſider, whether they have done enough to reclaim the *Iriſh* from the Popiſh Bigottries

gottries and Abominations, with which they have been intoxicated.

May the ſeveral Factories and Companies, whoſe Concerns lie in *Aſia*, *Africa*, or *America*, be perſwaded, as *Jacob* once, and before him his Grand-father *Abraham* was, That they always owe unto God certain Proportions of their Poſſeſſions; by the honeſt payments of which little *Quit-rents*, they would certainly ſecure and enlarge their Enjoyment of the Principal; but that they are under a very particular Obligation to Communicate of our *Spiritual things* unto thoſe Heathen, by whoſe *Carnal things* they are enriched: And may they therefore make it their ſtudy, to employ ſome able and pious Miniſters, for the Inſtruction of thoſe *Infidels* with whom they have to deal, and honourably ſupport ſuch Miniſters in that Employment.

May the poor *Greeks*, *Armenians* *Muſcovites*, and others, in the Eaſtern Countries, wearing the name of *Chriſtians*, that have little *Preaching*, and no *Printing*, and few Bibles, or good Books, now at laſt be furniſhed with Bibles, Orthodox Catechiſms, and Practical Treatiſes by the Charity of *England*; and may our Preſſes provide good ſtores of good Books for them, in their own Tongues, to be ſcattered among them. Who knows what Convulſions might be haſtened upon the whole *Mahometan* World by ſuch an extenſive Charity!

May ſufficient Numbers of great, wiſe, rich, learned, and godly Men in the three Kingdoms,

procure

procure well-compoſed Societies, by whoſe united Counſels the noble Deſign of Evangelizing the World, may be more effectually carried on; and if ſome generous Perſons will of their own accord combine for ſuch Conſultations, who can tell, but like ſome other Celebrated Societies heretofore formed from ſuch ſmall beginnings, they may ſoon have that countenance of Authority which may produce very glorious Effects, and give opportunity to gather vaſt Contributions from all well-diſpoſed People, to aſſiſt and advance this progreſs of Chriſtianity. God forbid, that *Popery* ſhould expend upon *Cheating*, more than ten times what we do upon *Saving* the Immortal Souls of Men.

Laſtly, May many Worthy Men, who find their circumſtances will allow of it, get the Language of ſome Nations that are not yet brought home to God, and wait upon the Divine Providence, for God's Leading them to, and Owning them in their Apoſtolical Undertakings. When they remember what *Ruffinus* relates concerning the converſion of the *Iberians*; and what *Socrates*, with other Authors relates concerning the Converſion wrought by occaſion of *Frumentius* and *Ædeſius*, in the *Inner India*, all as it were by accident, ſurely 'twill make them try what may be done by deſign for ſuch things now in our Days! Thus let them ſee, whether while we at home in the midſt of wearieſome Temptations, are Angling with Rods, which now and then catch one Soul for our Lord, they ſhall not be

Fiſhing

Fiſhing with Nets, which will bring in many thouſands of thoſe, concerning whom with unſpeakable Joy in the Day of the Lord, they may ſay, *Behold, I and the Children which God has given me!* Let them ſee, whether, ſuppoſing they ſhould proſper no farther than to *Preach the Goſpel of the Kingdom in all the World, for a witneſs unto all Nations*, yet the End which is then to come, will not bring to them the more happy Lot, wherein they ſhall ſtand, that are found ſo doing.

Let no Man be diſcouraged by the Difficulties which the Devil will be ready to clog ſuch Attempts againſt his Kingdom with; for I will take leave ſo to Tranſlate the Words of the wiſe Man, in *Prov.* 27. 4. *Who is able to ſtand before* ZEAL? I am well-ſatisfi'd, that if Men had the Wiſdom, *to diſcern the ſigns of the Times* they would be all Hands at work to ſpread the Name of our JESUS into all the Corners of the Earth. *Grant it, O my God; and Lord Jeſus come quickly.*

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM